THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND

TO

THE PEACE IN

1783.

BY

C. M. CORMICK, LL. B.

Designed as a

Continuation

OF

HUME AND SMOLLETT.

"Ὅταν τις τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἦθος ἀναλαμβάνῃ, ἐπιλαθέσθαι χρὴ εὔνοιας καὶ μίσους, καὶ πολλάκις κοσμεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπαίνοις, ὅταν αἱ πράξεις ἀπαιτῶσιν οὕτω· πολλάκις δὲ ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους, ὅταν αἱ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἁμαρτίαι τοῦθ' ὑποδεικνύωσιν."

ANN. ΚΟΜΝΗΝ. ΑΛΕΞΙΑΔ ΠΡΟΛΟΓ.

EMBELLISHED WITH

HISTORICAL ENGRAVINGS, and SUPERB PORTRAITS of the most distinguished Characters of the Present Reign.

VOL. III.

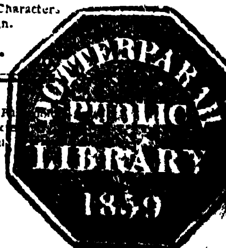
London:

Printed for C. COOKE, No. 17, P...

And sold by all the B...k...

Great-Britain and...

Ireland.



CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

on

C H A P. III.

CHAP. IV.

XXXI.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE II. TO THE PEACE IN 1783.

CHAP. I.

I. *Introductory Remarks on the Delicacy and Magnitude of the Events that remain to be deſcribed.* II. *Affair at Salem, ſhewing on what a ſlender Thread the Peace of the Empire hung.* III. *Firſt Scenes ſtained with civil Blood at Lexington and Concord.* IV. *Inveſtment of Boſton; Arrival of Reinforcements; and Battle of Bunker's Hill.* V. *Errors in the Plan and Conduct of this Attack.* VI. *Proceedings of the General Congreſs.* VII. *Appointment of military Commanders; and the Maſk thrown off in a bold Project of hoſtile Invaſion.* VIII. *Progreſs of Schuyler and Montgomery in Canada, the Gates of which had been thrown open to them by a Party of private Adventurers.* IX. *Temerity of Ethan Allen's Attempt upon Montreal.* X. *State of the military Force of Canada; and Exertions uſed for the Relief of St. John's.* XI. *Capture of that Fort; and General Carlton's fortunate Eſcape from Montreal to Quebec.* XII. *Arnold's extraordinary March from Boſton to Point Levi, where he was ſoon joined by Montgomery.* XIII. *The Weakneſs of the Garriſon at Quebec counterbalanced by the Reſources of the Governor's Genius and the animating Effect of his Example.* XIV. *Critical Situation of the Beſiegers after ſome fruitleſs Attempts.* XV. *Deſperate Reſolution to ſtorm the Town; and total Rout of the Aſſailants.* XVI. *Reflections on Montgomery's Character and Fate.* XVII. *General View of what occurred in the other Provinces at the ſame Period.* XVIII. *Agitation which prevailed in the Mother Country, particularly in the City of London, at that Time blindly ſubmitting itſelf to the Guidance of factious Leaders.* XIX.

Strictures on the Conduct of Lord Effingham, and of some other Deserters from the military Service. XX. *The Duke of Grafton's Defection more sensibly felt by the Ministry.* XXI. *Addresses and Petitions before the Meeting of Parliament.* XXII. *Riot of Sailors at Liverpool.* XXIII. *Mr. Sayre's Commitment to the Tower.* XXIV. *His Majesty's Speech at the opening of the Session.* XXV. *Violent Debates on the Address.* XXVI. *Mr. Penn's Examination at the Bar of the House of Lords.* XXVII. *Lord North's prohibitory Bill.* XXVIII. *Various Motions relative to America.* XXIX. *German Treaties laid before both Houses.* XXX. *Debate occasioned by a Message which had been sent to the Parliament of Ireland.* XXXI. *Vote for extraordinary Expences carried by a great Majority.* XXXII. *Lord Mountstuart's Scotch Militia Bill rejected.* XXXIII. *Dutchess of Kingston's Trial.* XXXIV. *Inquiry into Licences granted to Ships bound for North America.* XXXV. *Speech from the Throne.*

I. IT is usual with epic Poets to court the inspiration of the muse, not only at their entrance on the chosen subject, but also at those parts where they wish to appear sinking under the pressure of its increasing importance. Thus, while they only seem to express a modest sense of their own inequality to so arduous a task, they rouse the reader's attention from any accidental languor, and heighten his ideas of what he is told the powers of human genius would fall short of, without supernatural assistance. Though the present undertaking is not a work of fancy, but a careful register of facts; and though whatever difficulties may occur in the execution, no muse is to be invoked, nor any poetical artifice employed; yet the peculiar delicacy and magnitude of the events that remain to be described must afford some claim to a more than ordinary degree of indulgence. It is not easy to steer a safe course of history through the rage of civil war, and to reconcile the survivors of this unnatural contest to a faithful picture of the faults as well as merits of the most distinguished actors in each scene. But a sacred regard for truth supersedes every other

other confideration; and though it is natural for a man fincerely attached to his king and country, to love the friends, and to hate the enemies of both; yet, when he affumes the office of an hiftorian, he muft diveft himfelf of thefe affections, and, according to the excellent rule laid down in the motto prefixt to this volume, he muft be ready, on many occaons, to fpeak largely in the praifes even of an enemy, when his conduct deferves applaufe, nor fcruple to condemn his deareft friends, as often as their actions call for cenfure.

II. The ftorm, which had been fo long gathering in the weftern hemifphere, began now to break in violent and reiterated flafhes. Maffachufet's Bay, where the fpirit of refiftance to lawful authority had firft appeared, was deftined alfo to feel the firft fhocks of the terrible explofion. A new provincial congrefs met early in the year, and left no means of alarm untried to increafe the ardour of military preparations. They told their conftituents, that the fudden deftruction of that colony was intended; and therefore urged the militia in general, and the *minute-men* in particular, to fpare neither time, pains, nor expence in perfecting themfelves for actual fervice. The ftrict difcipline and cautious conduct of the king's forces, even when fent to make feizures of powder or ftores depofited at different places in the vicinity of Bofton, inftead of convincing the country people that the fword would be drawn with the utmoft reluctance, ferved only to infpire them with greater boldnefs in their plans of determined oppofition. An inftance of this occurred on the twenty fixth of February, when a fmall detachment, which had been ordered to Salem for the purpofe of fecuring fome brafs cannon and field-pieces, hearing, on their arrival there, that the ordnance was carried off that very morning, and being induced to march into the country with the hope of recovering it, were daringly obftructed in their defign by a party of unarmed peafants. The latter took up a drawbridge that lay over a fmall river where the troops were to pafs; and peremptorily refufed to let it down, alledging that the road was not a

public one, and that the bridge was private property. The commanding officer, seeing a boat in the river, was about to make use of it for transporting his men; but some of the Americans jumped into the boat, and with axes began to cut holes in the bottom; which occasioned a scuffle between them and the soldiers. At this juncture, a clergyman, who had been a witness of the whole transaction, very prudently interposed; and finding that the point of honour, with respect to making good the passage, was the principal object with the military, it being now too late in the evening to prosecute their original purpose, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge. The troops then crossed over, merely in exercise of the right which they claimed; and returned immediately after. Every circumstance tended to shew upon what a slender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the least exertion of force would certainly bring things to extremities. A second expedition, which soon took place, had this fatal issue.

III. General Gage having received intelligence, that a considerable quantity of stores, purchased by the agents for the provincial congress, was collected at Concord, a town about twenty miles from Boston, thought it expedient to send off the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, to destroy that magazine. The detachment, consisting of between eight and nine hundred men, embarked in boats on the night preceding the nineteenth of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, whence they proceeded towards Concord with the greatest silence and dispatch possible. Care was also taken by some officers on horseback to scour the roads, and to secure every person who came in their way. But, notwithstanding these precautions, they had advanced only a few miles, when it was perceived, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed. Upon this discovery, the colonel ordered major Pitcairne, with six companies of the light infantry to march forward in all haste, and to

get

get poſſeſſion of the two bridges on different roads leading off from the oppoſite ſide of Concord. Theſe companies reached Lexington, juſt fifteen miles from Boſton, at five in the morning; but finding the militia of that town drawn up on a green adjoining to the road, the major, who led the van, ordered the rebels in an authoritative tone to diſperſe. They did ſo, though with evident marks of reluctance and confuſion; but while they ſeemed retiring, ſeveral guns were fired upon the king's troops, from behind a wall, and from ſome neighbouring houſes, which wounded one man, and ſhot major Pitcairne's horſe in two places. The Britiſh ſoldiers, thus irritated by a treacherous and ſkulking enemy, made a general diſcharge, in which eight of the militia were killed, and ſome others wounded: the reſt diſperſed in an inſtant. The light infantry, having been delayed by this unexpected rencounter, were now joined by the grenadiers, and continued their march in a body till they got near Concord, where they perceived another more numerous party of militia aſſembled upon a hill that commanded the entrance of the town. The light infantry was ordered to diſlodge them, whilſt the grenadiers purſued the direct road to Concord. At the approach of the Britiſh troops, the militia fled over one of the bridges on the other ſide of Concord, where the light infantry immediately poſted themſelves. The grenadiers in the mean time executed the purpoſe of their expedition, by deſtroying the ordnance and ſtores; after which they quitted the town; and the light infantry being then called off from a ſharp ſkirmiſh with the militia who had returned to the charge at the bridge, the whole detachment began their march back to Boſton. The country was now up in arms; and not only the rear of the army was aſſailed by a continually increaſing multitude of purſuers, but a galling though irregular fire was directed againſt the flanks, as they paſſed along, from behind trees, houſes, and hedges, which ſupplied the place of lines and redoubts. It happened fortunately, that general Gage, apprehenſive of the danger of the ſervice, had detached

lord

lord Percy early in the morning with ſixteen companies of foot, ſome marines, and two field pieces, to ſupport colonel Smith; and that they were arrived at Lexington by the time the others had returned from Concord. Lord Percy immediately formed his detachment into a ſquare, in which he incloſed colonel Smith's party, who were almoſt exhauſted with fatigue. In that poſition, the troops took ſome refreſhment, and then reſumed their march, during the remainder of which they were annoyed, as before, by an inceſſant fire, which they could not return with any effect, as the Americans were concealed, and kept running from front to flank, and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place, and diſcharging them at another. The united detachments did not reach Boſton till ſun ſet: their loſs, though great, fell ſhort of what might be expected from their perilous and expoſed ſituation in the courſe of ſo long and haraſſing a march: ſixty five were killed, one hundred and thirty ſix wounded, and forty nine miſſing. The loſs of the provincials amounted to ſixty men, two thirds of whom were killed. It was not long before both parties were engaged in a much more obſtinate and bloody conflict.

VI. The return of the Britiſh forces, though it naturally followed the accompliſhment of the purpoſe for which they had been ſent, was repreſented all over the country as a defeat; and ſo much were the people of the province elated with their ſuppoſed victory, that nothing now was talked of but driving the king's troops out of Boſton. Their indignation and revenge were alſo inflamed by deſcriptions of wanton cruelties ſaid to have been committed by the regulars in their retreat, and by a report that the grand object of the enterpriſe was to ſeize Hancock and Adams, two of the moſt popular members of the provincial congreſs. The only circumſtance, which could give any plauſibility to this report was the order to ſecure the bridges beyond Concord; though ſuch a meaſure muſt have been deemed neceſſary to prevent the ſtores from being carried off that way. As to the charges of unprovoked butchery and havoc, the character of

Britiſh

British ſoldiers is too well eſtabliſhed to be injured by them; and they alſo came with a very bad grace from inviſible aſſailants, who dealt out murder from behind their coverts with unmanly cowardice,—who were known even to ſcalp ſome of their victims upon that occaſion,—and who afterwards endeavoured, in the ſame aſſaſſin ſpirit, to ſtab the reputation of troops, whom they dared not encounter in the open field. Thoſe libels, however, being ſanctioned by the congreſs, had the deſired effect: the militia poured in ſo faſt from all the diſtant parts of the province, that an army of twenty thouſand men was ſoon aſſembled under the command of colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas, who acted as temporary generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxburgh, and the left to the river Myſtic, the diſtance between the points being about thirty miles. They ſtrengthened this line with artillery; and were ſpeedily joined by a large detachment of troops from Connecticut, under colonel Putnam, an old officer who had ſerved with great reputation in the two laſt wars. Rules and orders for the government of this army were publiſhed by the provincial congreſs, who alſo voted the iſſuing of a conſiderable ſum in paper currency to defray its expences, for the redemption of which the faith of the province was pledged. The ſame congreſs paſſed a reſolution on the fifth of May, declaring that general Gage had, by the late tranſactions, utterly diſqualified himſelf from ſerving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity; and that, therefore, no obedience was due to him; but on the contrary, that he was to be conſidered and guarded againſt as an inveterate enemy. The General took no notice of this defamatory and rebellious manifeſto: the troops he had with him being barely ſufficient for the purpoſes of defence, he quietly waited for reinforcements from England, which arrived about the end of May. Theſe were ſoon followed by ſome regiments from Ireland; and though the number of the whole did not exceed ten thouſand ſtrong, being equal

to

to little more than a third of the provincial army that blockaded Boſton, yet the former were at leaſt reſpectable, if not formidable, from the excellence of the troops, and the high character of the principal officers. But the commander in chief, though a brave man and truly amiable, wanted ſome of the moſt eſſential requiſites in ſo important a ſtation, ſagacity, deciſion, ſecrecy, and vigour. To theſe defects the failure of the attempt at Salem, and the loſs ſuſtained in the expedition to Concord, might in a greater meaſure be aſcribed. But general Gage's neglect, immediately after the arrival of the reinforcements, to ſecure ſuch of the ſurrounding heights as commanded the town or harbour of Boſton, was attended with irreparable injury. The troops remained above a fortnight inactively and ingloriouſly cooped up within the former narrow limits. A proclamation was at length iſſued by general Gage, offering a free pardon to all thoſe who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, John Hancock and Samuel Adams excepted; and threatening with puniſhment all ſuch as ſhould delay to avail themſelves of the proffered mercy. Martial law was alſo declared to be in force in the province, until peace and order ſhould be ſo far reſtored that juſtice might be again adminiſtered in the civil courts. Theſe empty menaces not producing any effect, ſome plan of offenſive meaſures became neceſſary; but even in this the tardy Britiſh commander was anticipated by the more active and vigilant provincials. Adjacent to the peninſula of Boſton, on the north, is another of ſimilar form, entirely ſurrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the main land by an iſthmus, ſomewhat wider and more acceſſible than Boſton Neck. In the centre of the peninſula riſes an eminence, called Bunker's Hill, with an eaſy aſcent from the iſthmus, but ſteep on every other ſide; and at the bottom of the hill, towards Boſton, ſtands Charleſtown, both places being ſeparated only by Charles river, which is about as broad as the Thames at London Bridge. Bunker's Hill was ſufficiently high to overlook any part of Boſton, and near enough to be within cannon

ſhot

ſhot. It is impoſſible to excuſe general Gage, for neglecting to occupy a poſt from which he was ſo liable to be annoyed. He ſaw his error, but too late, on the morning of the ſeventeenth of June, when it was diſcovered that the Americans had, in the courſe of the preceding night, thrown up a conſiderable intrenchment at Bunker's Hill, with a ſtrong redoubt, and a breaſt work, that was in ſome parts cannon proof. The firſt alarm was given at day break by the Lively man of war; and ſome other ſhips ſoon joined in a heavy, but ineffectual fire againſt the new fortifications. A battery of ſix guns was alſo opened upon them from Cop's Hill, in Boſton; and about noon, a detachment from the army was landed near Charleſtown, under the command of major-general Howe and brigadier-general Pigot, with orders to diſlodge the enemy. The troops were formed without oppoſition as ſoon as they landed; but the generals perceiving that the provincials were ſtrongly poſted on the heights, that they were already in great force, and that large columns were every moment coming in to their aſſiſtance, thought it neceſſary to apply for a reinforcement. On obtaining this, the whole detachment, conſiſting now of more than two thouſand men, moved on in two lines, the light infantry on the right, and the grenadiers on the left, the former to attack the intrenchments, and the latter to ſtorm the redoubt. The aſſault was preceded by a ſevere fire of cannon and howitzers, the troops halting at intervals, to give time to the artillery to produce ſome effect. The left wing, commanded by general Pigot, had alſo, in advancing, to contend with ſome men poſted in the houſes in Charleſtown; and in this conflict, the town was ſet on fire and burnt to the ground. The provincials upon the hill, ſecure behind their intrenchments, and checked by the authority and experience of the brave old Putnam, reſerved their fire for the near approach of the Britiſh troops, when a cloſe and inceſſant diſcharge of muſketry took place, the men in the works, as ſoon as they emptied their pieces, being ſupplied with others ready loaded.

The

The aſſailants were thrown into ſome diſorder by this continued blaze of death, and gave way in ſeveral parts. It is ſaid, that general Howe, who led on the right wing, was, for a few ſeconds, left nearly alone, moſt of the officers round his perſon being either killed or wounded. At this juncture, general Clinton, who arrived from Boſton during the engagement, was eminently ſerviceable in rallying the troops, and by a happy manœuvre almoſt inſtantaneouſly brought them back to the charge. The Britiſh ſoldiers, ſtung with the reflection of having given way before an enemy whom they deſpiſed, now returned with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, forced the intrenchments with fixed bayonets, and drove the Americans from their works. The latter, thus driven, fled with precipitation; but as no purſuit was ordered, they were ſuffered to retire unmoleſted, except in paſſing Charleſtown Neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glaſgow ſloop of war and ſome floating batteries; and here the provincials ſuſtained their greateſt loſs. The whole, however, amounted, according to their own accounts, only to four hundred and forty nine men, of whom one hundred and forty five were killed or miſſing, and the reſt wounded. But the victory was more dearly purchaſed by the Britiſh troops, of whom two hundred and twenty ſix were killed, and eight hundred and twenty eight wounded, nineteen commiſſioned officers being amongſt the former, and ſeventy amongſt the latter. The deaths of lieutenant colonel Abercrombie, and of majors Pitcairne, Williams, and Spendlove, who ſignalized themſelves in an eminent degree on this fatal day, were ſincerely regretted by the whole army. The Americans alſo loſt ſome officers of rank; but they lamented moſt the fate of Dr. Warren, the preſident of the provincial congreſs, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party in the redoubt, and was killed, fighting gallantly at their head.

V. Few engagements are free from unfortunate accidents, or miſtakes; and one which occurred in the action at Bunker's Hill, is ſuppoſed to have rendered that day

more

more-disastrous than it would have otherwise been to the British forces. During the battle, a supply of cannon-ball, sent from Boston, was found to be of larger dimensions than fitted the calibres of the field-pieces, so as to prevent the farther use of the artillery. But the plan and conduct of the attack deserved much keener censure. It has been asserted that if the Symmetry transport, which drew little water, and mounted eighteen nine pounders, had been towed up Mystic channel, on the north side of the peninsula of Charlestown, and brought to, within musket-shot of the left flank of the provincials, which was quite naked; or if a covered boat, musket-proof, carrying a heavy piece of cannon, had been towed close in, one charge on their uncovered flank would have dislodged them in a moment. Another absurdity, which from the nature of the enterprise seems peculiarly unaccountable, was encumbering the soldiers with three days provisions and knapsacks on their backs, which, together with cartouche-box, ammunition, and firelock, may be estimated at one hundred and twenty five pounds weight. Under such a load, enough of itself to exhaust them before they came to action, they were ordered in the middle of a hot summer's day, to ascend a steep hill, covered with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected by the walls and fences of various inclosures, and in the very face of a most destructive and unremitted fire; when all the difficulties and the greater part of the danger might have been avoided by landing them in the rear of the provincial intrenchment. This would also have rendered the breast-work of the Americans useless; and their whole detachment, being thereby inclosed in the peninsula, must either have surrendered at discretion, or attempted to cut their way through the British line. Even in pursuing the other plan, it was injudicious to make the assault on the whole front, instead of confining the attack to the enemy's left wing, which was covered with nothing more than a breast-work of rails and hay, easy to be scrambled over; and behind it was an open hill that commanded their redoubt and lines. Thus error was crowded upon error,

as if to put the valour, perseverance, and discipline of the British troops to the severest trial; and after they had routed three times their own number, in spite of every disadvantage, the splendor of their success was obscured by not receiving any orders to pursue the flying enemy. The latter had even some colour for boasting that, though they were driven from a post, they had nearly all the effects of a complete victory, as they put a stop to the offensive operations of an enemy sent to subdue them, and immediately after the action threw up works upon another eminence, opposite to Bunker's hill, on their side of Charlestown; so that the British troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had before been in Boston. The blockade was continued during the remainder of the year, without any decisive efforts on either side.

VI. In the mean time, the general congress, which had met at Philadelphia on the tenth of May, regardless of a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, forbidding in the king's name the election of delegates, proceeded to exercise all the powers of a supreme legislative body. Among their first acts were resolutions for raising an army, and establishing a large paper currency for its payment; also a declaration that, by the late violation of the charter of Massachuset's Bay, the compact between the crown and that colony was dissolved. Lord North's conciliatory proposition having been referred to them by the provincial assemblies, was unanimously rejected as unreasonable and insidious; and this rejection determined its fate in all the colonies. Even Georgia, though peculiarly favoured by the British government, joined in the general alliance; and both New York and Carolina, notwithstanding their former moderation, had also sent delegates to the congress. From these accessions to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the title of *The Thirteen United Colonies*. Congress did not make any immediate or direct reply to general Gage's proclamation; but they had already chosen the proscribed Hancock for their president, under whose signature a "Declaration"

was

was publiſhed by their order on the ſixth of July, ſetting forth the cauſes and neceſſity of their cloſing with the appeal, which, they ſaid, was made by the Britiſh legiſlature from reaſon to arms. After entering into a detail of all the old grievances, they pretend to deſcribe the late hoſtilities, but take care to fix the charge of aggreſſion on the Britiſh troops. They reproach general Gage with having "vented the groſſeſt falſhoods and calumnies againſt the good people of the colonies," and with a cruel and perfidious breach of his ſolemn promiſe to the inhabitants of Boſton, that they ſhould have liberty to quit the town, and to take with them their other property, if they would lay down their arms, though when this was done, he ordered the arms to be ſeized by his ſoldiers, and detained the greateſt part of the inhabitants in the town, compelling the few, who were ſuffered to retire, to leave their moſt valuable effects behind. The Declaration farther ſtates, that endeavours had been uſed by the Britiſh government to inſtigate the Canadians and Indians to attack the coloniſts; that ſchemes had alſo been formed to excite domeſtic enemies againſt them; and that, in ſhort, a part of the provinces already felt, "and all of them were ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of adminiſtration could inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword, and famine." After ſome farther remarks on the guilt and infamy of entailing hereditary bondage on ſucceeding generations, the congreſs immediately aſſume a loftier tone, and ſtrive to inſpire their conſtituents with reſolution and confidence. "Our internal reſources," ſay they, "are great; and, if neceſſary, foreign aſſiſtance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge as ſignal inſtances of the divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this ſevere controverſy, until we were grown up to our preſent ſtrength, had been previouſly exerciſed in warlike operations, and poſſeſſed of the means of defending ourſelves." But, as the congreſs were ſenſible, that the hint of *foreign aſſiſtance*, though neceſſary to encourage their own people, muſt alarm the

inhabitants

inhabitants of other parts of the empire, where they were still desirous of retaining partisans, they artfully strove to soften the impression by adding, "that necessity had not yet driven them into that desperate measure, nor induced them to excite any other nation to war against their fellow-subjects: that they had not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from the mother country and establishing independent states; and that they only meaned to defend their rights and property from unprovoked violence. This declaration was followed by distinct addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Ireland, more fully insisting upon the same points; and by a second petition to the king, which was certainly expressed in such guarded, respectful, and conciliatory terms, that it semed to deserve the appellation given it of "the Olive branch." But the persons who drew up and subscribed this petition, were fonder in their hearts of the laurel than of the olive; and though they wished to gain time by delusive professions of peace and loyalty, their secret aim was directed to war and republicanism. A just idea of their real sentiments must therefore be formed from their conduct—not from their language.

VII. Soon after the vote for raising an army, the commission of general and commander in chief was given by congress to George Washington, Esq. a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, who had distinguished himself early in life by his gallant exertions in the late war, particularly on the day of Braddock's defeat, when, at the head of the provincial militia, he covered the retreat of the regular troops, and prevented their total destruction. So universal was the high opinion of his talents and his virtues, that the voice of the people may be said to have directed the appointment; and no man ever more fully justified the hopes of his country. The congress also nominated Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant general. Ward, Schuyler and Putnam were natives of America: Gates and Lee were Englishmen: they had both acquired some reputation during the last

war: · Lee in particular had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of Portugal; but his diſdain of ſuperiority made him eager to join the ſtandard of rebellion, where, however, his pride afterwards met with more ſtinging mortifications than he had ever experienced in the ſervice of his lawful ſovereign. Theſe, and ſome other arrangements for the ſupport of the army being made, congreſs ſoon threw off the maſk, and no longer adhering to the plauſible ſyſtem of mere defence, formed a bold ſcheme of hoſtile invaſion. A variety of circumſtances concurred to point out Canada as an inviting object of attack. Its ſituation, at the back of the other colonies, ſtretching from Nova Scotia almoſt to the ſouthern extremity of Penſylvania, left it very much expoſed to inroads, and made it, at the ſame time, a deſirable acquiſition for the ſecurity of all the adjoining ſettlements. The firſt congreſs had, by their inſinuating addreſs, conſiderably weakened the attachment of the inhabitants of that province to its governors, and filled them with prejudices againſt the Quebec act, which was repreſented as a violation of the moſt ſacred compacts,—as an attempt to rivet the chains of arbitrary power on thoſe new ſubjects of Great Britain, and to deprive them for ever of the chief bleſſings reſulting from her conſtitution. In conſequence of theſe ſuggeſtions, the French Canadians became as much diſguſted with the act as the Britiſh ſettlers; and when lately called upon by general Carlton to take up arms, they abſolutely refuſed to interfere in any diſputes that might ariſe between the mother country and her natural children. But the preſent congreſs, well knowing that general's zeal, enterpriſing ſpirit, and military talents, were convinced that as ſoon as his authority was ſupported by the arrival of a body of Engliſh forces, he would compel the people implicitly to obey him, and to ſecond any deſigns he might form againſt an open and widely extended frontier. They reſolved, therefore, to ſeize the moment of weakneſs and diſaffection, and to carry the war at once into the very heart of Canada, though ſuch a ſtep expoſed to the world the fallacy of all

their former professions. In vain did they endeavour to palliate so flagrant a deviation from the line which they had traced out for their constituents. It totally changed the nature of the ground on which they pretended to stand in the struggle with the British legislature. Opposition to government had hitherto been kept up under the shew at least, and on the avowed principle of maintaining certain rights and immunities of the people, which were said to be unjustly invaded. Resistance, in such a case, supposing the premises to be fairly stated, was looked upon by many as consistent with the spirit of the British constitution, and as sanctioned by precedents of the first authority. At any rate, while they proceeded no farther in their disobedience, mankind might remain divided in opinion on the rectitude of their behaviour, and on the nice questions of right or wrong, justice or injustice, oppression or good government. But to render themselves directly the aggressors, and not content with vindicating their real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they had no claim, was such an outrage, as not only to overthrow every plea of justifiable resistance, but placed in the strongest light the hitherto concealed motives and ultimate views of the leaders and fomenters of the American rebellion.

VIII. In pursuance of the resolutions of congress to attack Canada, generals Schuyler and Montgomery were dispatched with three thousand men to Lake Champlain, across which flat-bottomed boats were to convey them down the river Sorrel. Crown Point near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, and Ticonderoga at the north end of Lake George, which form, as it were, the gates of Canada on that quarter, had been already secured by a party of private adventurers under the command of one Ethan Allen, whom they called their colonel, though he had not any commission from the congress. General Montgomery, on his arrival at Crown Point with a party of the forces destined for the expedition, having

having received intelligence that a large schooner and some other armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John on the river Sorrel, were preparing to enter the lake and thereby effectually obstruct his design, proceeded directly to a little island, called Isle aux Noix, which commands the entrance of the lake, and took necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels. Being joined by Schuyler a few days after, they were induced to try the success of a sudden attack on St. John's; but they found that fort so well garrisoned and provided, and were so vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians in their approach to it, that they soon felt the necessity of returning to their former station on the island, and of deferring their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

IX. In this interval Schuyler returned to Albany, in order to conclude a treaty which he had been for some time negociating with the Indians in that quarter; but being detained there by business and by indisposition, the command of the detachment devolved of course on Montgomery. This officer, who was eminently qualified for any military service, on being joined by the remainder of his own troops, and by several parties of Indians whom he had gained over to his side, resolved to advance immediately and lay siege to St. John's, before which he encamped on the seventeenth of September. Nearly at the same time, the adventurer Ethan Allen thought to signalize and raise himself into importance by surprising the town of Montreal, which he attempted at the head of about a hundred and fifty Americans and Indians, without communicating his intentions to Montgomery, or endeavouring to procure any other assistance. The event was suitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at some distance from the town by the militia and a few regulars under the command of major Campbell, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his party, such of the rest as survived escaping in the woods.

X. Mon-

X. Montgomery's progreſs in the ſiege of St. John was very much retarded by the want of ſufficient ammunition, as well as by the intrepid and vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon, though greatly inferior in number to the aſſailants. The whole military force of Canada at the time of its being invaded did not exceed two regiments, the ſeventh and the twenty ſixth, containing together about eight hundred men. Five hundred of theſe, under the command of major Preſton, were poſted at St. John's; and the defence of another little fortreſs called Chamblée, which lay five miles farther in the country, was intruſted to major Stopford, of the ſeventh regiment, at the head of one hundred and ſixty men. General Carleton did not neglect any other means in his power to relieve or ſecure thoſe important forts. By the greateſt exertions, he collected at Montreal near a thouſand men compoſed principally of Canadians, and with theſe he intended to join ſome new levies under colonel Maclean, who had been ordered to haſten from Quebec to the part where the river Sorrel diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of St. Lawrence, whence the united forces were to march directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon the general's attempting to paſs over from Montreal, his landing was oppoſed by a body of provincials at Longueil, who had planted two pieces of cannon on the ſhore, with which they eaſily repulſed the Canadians, and forced general Carleton to relinquiſh his deſign. Nor was colonel Maclean more fortunate; for though he had with unwearied diligence got together about ſix hundred men at the poſt where he was ordered, yet being fiercely attacked by ſome provincials, and the news of general Carleton's repulſe arriving at the ſame juncture, he was deſerted by almoſt half his followers who were natives of the country; and he therefore thought it adviſeable, without waiting for farther inſtructions, to return to Quebec with the reſt of his party, conſiſting of Scotch emigrants, who had lately arrived in America, but in conſequence of the troubles had not obtained ſettlements.

XI. A detachment of Montgomery's army had now

made

made themſelves maſters of Fort Chamblée, the acquiſition of which was of the greater importance, as they found there one hundred and twenty four barrels of gunpowder, beſides other ſtores, which enabled the American commander to puſh the ſiege of St. John's with freſh vigour. The garriſon held out to the laſt with the utmoſt fortitude and perſeverance; but the hopes of relief being entirely cut off, and their proviſions and ammunition exhauſted, they were under the neceſſity of ſurrendering on the thirteenth of November. Immediately on this event, as Montreal was incapable of making any defence, general Carleton did not ſtay there to wait the certain advance of a victorious enemy only twelve miles diſtant, but was conveyed down the river, by favour of a dark night, in a whale-boat with muffled paddles, paſt the provincial guards and batteries, and he arrived ſafely at Quebec which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter.

XII. Colonel Arnold, an active and enterpriſing officer in the ſervice of congreſs, having obtained general Waſhington's approbation of a plan for penetrating into the lower part of Canada by a route hitherto untried, had ſet off from the camp near Boſton in the middle of September, at the head of about eleven hundred men; and after ſuffering incredible hardſhips in traverſing a rude and pathleſs wilderneſs, aſcending by the Kennebeck and deſcending by the Chandiere, he at length reached the plains of Canada in ſix weeks after his departure from Boſton, and encamped oppoſite to Quebec at a ſpot called Point Levi. But notwithſtanding the conſternation occaſioned by his ſudden appearance, and the ſuppoſed impoſſibility of ſuch an atchievement, he was repulſed with great ſlaughter in his firſt attempt to force the gate of St. Lewis on the fourteenth of November. This was chiefly owing to the very judicious and gallant conduct of colonel Maclean, who, with his faithful adherents, had entered the city the evening before. General Carleton arrived on the twentieth; and Arnold, fully convinced

of

of the fruitleſſneſs of any farther efforts without artillery, which he could not have brought with him, reſolved to wait for Montgomery's arrival. The latter had been detained, after the capture of Montreal, in preparing batteaux with light artillery to be employed againſt ſome armed veſſels, on board of which were brigadier general Preſcot and ſeveral other officers, with a large quantity of military ſtores. They were ſoon obliged to ſurrender, it being impracticable to ſave the ſhips; and Montgomery having left ſome troops in the forts, and ſent detachments into different parts of the province to tempt the Canadians to engage in the rebellion, as well as to forward ſupplies, puſhed on with as many men as could be ſpared from theſe ſervices to join Arnold at Point Levi.

XIII. On the fifth of December the junction took place, and though a flag which Montgomery ſent with a ſummons was fired at from the town, and all correſpondence forbidden, he found other means to convey a letter to general Carleton, magnifying his own ſtrength, ſtating the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſhewing the impoſſibility of relief, and recommending an immediate ſurrender, to avoid the dreadful conſequences of a ſtorm. But neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect on the inflexible firmneſs of the veteran governor. The reſources of his genius and the animating effect of his example counterbalanced every diſadvantage. His firſt care had been to oblige all thoſe to quit the town with their families, who refuſed to take up arms in its defence. His whole garriſon then amounted only to fifteen hundred men, a number, ſuppoſing them even the beſt troops, very diſproportioned to the defence of ſuch extenſive works: but it could ſcarcely be ſaid that any of them were regulars, colonel Maclean's ſmall corps being newly raiſed, and the only company of the ſeventh regiment which had eſcaped being taken conſiſting principally of recruits; the reſt were compoſed of the Britiſh and French militia, a few marines, and about four hundred and fifty ſeamen belonging to the king's frigates and to the merchant ſhips that wintered in the harbour. Their bravery, however,

their

their activity, and patience in chearfully ſuſtaining all the hardſhips of the ſiege, afforded a ſtriking inſtance, how far the conduct of a few gallant and experienced officers might operate in rendering the raweſt troops reſpectable.

XIV. It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were conſiderably ſuperior in number or quality to thoſe that defended the town. His chief proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed to be founded upon the impreſſion, which the parade of his preparations and the violence of his ſudden attacks might make on what he regarded as a weak and motley garriſon. He accordingly commenced a bombardment with five ſmall mortars; and, in a few days after, opened a ſix gun battery at about ſeven hundred yards diſtance from the walls: but his metal, which conſiſted only of twelve pounders, was too light to do any great damage; and his batteries, being compoſed of ſnow and water that quickly became ſolid ice, were demoliſhed almoſt as ſoon as they were erected. Arnold and he now felt themſelves in a very unpleaſant ſituation: they had nothing to hope for from the effect of their artillery, or from the preſumed weakneſs and inexperience of the garriſon: the winter began to be ſeverely felt; the ground was covered with a deep ſnow; and human nature did not ſeem capable of long withſtanding the united rigours of the ſeaſon and the climate in the field. The time alſo, for which many of Montgomery's ſoldiers had engaged, was expired, or expiring; and it could not be anſwered how ſoon they might inſiſt on returning home, nor whether ſuch an event would not totally break up the whole army.

XV. In theſe circumſtances, Montgomery thought that ſomething deciſive muſt be done without delay. He knew the Americans would conſider Quebec as taken from the inſtant they heard of his arrival before it; and that the higher their expectations were raiſed, the more grievous the diſappointment would be in caſe of a failure. Their confidence of ſucceſs was founded on the opinion they had of his courage and ability—To forfeit that opinion

opinion was the worſt of all poſſible conſequences—Yet to attempt the city by ſtorm ſeemed an effort truly deſperate.—This, however, was determined upon; and the neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, Montgomery reſolved to lead the forlorn hope. Early in the morning, on the laſt day of the year, having divided his army into four unequal parts for the purpoſe of diſtracting the garriſon by two falſe and two real attacks at the ſame time, he undertook, with the largeſt diviſion, conſiſting of nine hundred men, the moſt perilous part of the enterpriſe. He was killed in the firſt onſet: all the officers and ſoldiers near his perſon ſhared the ſame fate; and the reſt, after ſuſtaining for about half an hour a dreadful diſcharge of cannon and muſketry, retreated in the utmoſt diſorder. Arnold's party, about ſeven hundred in number, were for ſome time more ſucceſsful. In leſs than an hour they forced the firſt and ſecond barriers of that quarter againſt which their attack was directed. Arnold's leg being ſhattered by a muſket-ball very early in the engagement, he was carried off to the camp; but his place was well ſupplied by the ſkilful exertions of the other officers and the reſolution of the men, who knowing nothing of Montgomery's misfortune, puſhed on with unabated ardour, and were actually applying ladders to the third barrier, when they received a ſudden and irrecoverable check. The main force of the garriſon, now relieved from other objects, was turned againſt this bold party of aſſailants; and whilſt they were already fully occupied in front, a large detachment with ſeveral field pieces poured upon their rear, and compelled them, after an obſtinate reſiſtance for three hours, to lay down their arms. The priſoners were treated with the greateſt humanity by the governor, whoſe ſkill and courage during the whole conflict merited every eulogium. The ſhattered remains of the beſiegers, who were reduced to about ſeven hundred, immediately quitted their camp, and retired three miles farther from the city, where they ſtrengthened their quarters in the beſt manner they were able, being apprehenſive of a purſuit from the garriſon.

The

The latter, however, though the action made them greatly superior in number, were unfit for a service of that nature; and their able governor, with a degree of wisdom and sobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmness, contented himself with the advantage and security he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province in any rash adventure.

XVI. Such was the issue of this enterprise against Quebec, planned by the congress in the deepest treachery, and of the success of which they had formed the most sanguine expectations. Their mortification at its failure was particularly aggravated by the loss of Montgomery, whom they looked upon as second only to Washington in military genius. This brave, but misguided and unfortunate officer, was a native of Ireland, and had served with great applause in the late war. The excellency of his qualities and disposition had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. Having married a lady and purchased an estate in New York, he was from thence induced to consider himself as an American, and, actuated by false notions of liberty, to forget the duties of allegiance imposed on him by his birth, and to devote his talents to the service of the congress, who gave him the rank of brigadier general. His conduct in the expedition to Canada was equally spirited and judicious; and his heroism in the last scene shone forth with increasing lustre. Nothing, in short, was wanting to render his fall glorious, but a better cause. In describing his character and his fate, it is impossible not to shed a tear of regret, that a man who was so well formed to support the interests and glory of his country against her natural foes, should have perished in an unnatural and most unhappy rebellion. His body, being found the day after the attack, was interred with all military and funeral honours by general Carleton, who had the magnanimity to esteem and acknowledge such eminent merit even in an enemy.

XVII. The events of this first campaign, as it may be called, in the province of Massachuset's Bay and in

Canada, ſeemed to require a particular detail. But a general view of what occurred at the ſame period in the other provinces will be ſufficient. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, had adopted the reſolution, in conſequence of the diſputes long ſubſiſting between him and the people, which roſe by degrees to the moſt alarming violence, to take refuge on board the Fowey man of war in the month of June; and his authority being ſoon after diſavowed by the convention of delegates, he proclaimed martial law, and immediate emancipation to all negroes and indented ſervants able and willing to bear arms in his majeſty's ſervice—a meaſure which cauſed the greateſt irritation, without being productive of any adequate advantage. At length an affair happened, which brought things to iſſue between both parties. A demand was made by the ſhipping in the bay of Cheſapeak, to the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk, for proviſions and other uſual ſupplies; which being peremptorily refuſed, and the ſhips being alſo annoyed by the fire of the rebels on ſhore, a heavy cannonade was commenced againſt the quarter where they were poſted, and in a few hours the whole town was reduced to aſhes—the loſs being eſtimated at above two hundred thouſand pounds.* In the adjacent country of Maryland, governor Eden's moderation, though it could not ultimately prevent revolt, ſerved to delay thoſe fatal extremities; and, when the Britiſh government was entirely ſuperſeded, he retired from the province, carrying with him the eſteem of a very numerous party. In the Carolinas, lord William Campbell and governor Martin, adopting the more vigorous, but unſucceſsful policy of lord Dunmore, were alſo compelled to withdraw for ſafety on board the king's ſhips

* This event took place on the firſt of January 1776. It appears from a gazette publiſhed by the governor's order, that it was only intended to deſtroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels completed the deſtruction, by ſetting fire to the back and remote ſtreets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwiſe been ſafe from the fury of the flames.

lying

lying off the coast. In Pennsylvania a military association was established throughout the province; and a similar spirit, indicating itself in different modes, pervaded all the other colonies, where the articles of proposed confederation and perpetual union, published in the summer by the congress, were approved, though not formally ratified till the year after, and where the resolutions of that assembly had in the mean time, the full force and efficacy of laws.

XVIII. During these proceedings on the other side of the Atlantic, no little agitation prevailed in the mother country. The public opinion began to be very much divided on the expediency and final effects of coercive measures, against which a loud clamour was raised not only by the friends of the opposition, but by several mercantile bodies, whose private interests are not easily reconciled with the justice or necessity of any war. The city of London in particular, impelled by faction as well as by apprehensions of a decline of trade, had, in the latter end of February, petitioned parliament against the bills relating to America, and in the beginning of April presented a remonstrance to the throne on the same subject, which being chiefly drawn up by the suggestions of Mr. Wilkes, then lord mayor, surpassed all the former remonstrances, however disrespectful, in the insolence of the language, and the seditious tendency of the sentiments it conveyed. The petitioners recapitulated the whole catalogue of American grievances, and declared their abhorrence of the steps taken to oppress their fellow subjects, adding that they were not imposed upon by the specious artifice of calling despotism, dignity, but plainly perceived that the real purpose was to establish arbitrary power over all the colonies: they justified the resistance of the Americans on the principles by which, they said, their ancestors had been actuated in transferring the crown to the house of Brunswick: they charged his majesty's ministers with poisoning the fountain of public security,—with rendering that body which should be the guardian of liberty, a formidable instrument of arbitrary power;

and concluded with a prayer for their diſmiſſion for ever from his majeſty's councils. The king, in his anſwer, expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to find any of his ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſted in ſome of the colonies: he alſo ſaid, that, "having entire confidence in the wiſdom of his parliament, the great council of the nation, he ſhould ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which they had recommended for the ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial intereſts of his kingdoms." In a few days after, Mr. Wilkes received a letter from the lord chamberlain, acquainting him, as chief magiſtrate of the city of London, that his majeſty would not receive on the throne any addreſs, remonſtrance, or petition of the lord mayor and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. Mr. Wilkes laid this letter, as well as his majeſty's anſwer to the remonſtrance, before the midſummer meeting of the citizens for the election of their annual officers; and did not neglect to accompany the information with ſome comments in his uſual ſtile. Several reſolutions were then propoſed and agreed to, in one of which it was declared, that the adviſers of ſuch a meſſage were enemies to the right of the ſubject to petition the throne; and that the advice was calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their ſovereign, to prevent a redreſs of grievances, and alienate the minds of Engliſhmen from the Hanoverian ſucceſſion. Another remonſtrance was alſo concurred in, at leaſt equalling the late one in its moſt obnoxious parts, and deſiring his majeſty to conſider, "what the ſituation of his people here muſt be, who had nothing now to expect from America, but gazettes of blood, and mutual liſts of their ſlaughtered fellow ſubjects." It was farther reſolved, "that this addreſs ſhould not be preſented, unleſs it was received ſitting on the throne;" but the king, by whoſe order the ſheriffs were informed that it was his majeſty's pleaſure to receive it at the levee, being told of the reſolution of the common-hall, replied with equal temper and dignity: "I am ever

ready

ready to receive addresses and petitions; but I am the judge where." In vain did the common-hall at a subsequent meeting resolve, that the king was bound to hear the petitions of his people;—that it was the undoubted right of the subject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favor;—that the late answer was a direct denial of that right;—and that the adviser, directly or indirectly, of the refusal, was equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the king, and to the peace and liberties of the people. Nobody could be deceived by so flagrant a violation of plain truth and common sense. The king had not only declared his constant readiness to receive petitions, but had given the most unequivocal proofs of it, even when the exercise of that right of the subject was grossly and wickedly abused. Had Mr. Wilkes and his junto the farther privilege of dictating to his majesty where, or in what attitude he should receive their libels on government?—and were all the splendours of the throne necessary to place in the strongest light the condescension of the sovereign, and the unparalleled insolence of a factious cabal? The besotted multitude went, however, as far as they could to gratify the rage of disappointment, by ordering a copy of their fretful votes to be presented to the king by the sheriffs and the city remembrancer;—by causing these votes and the remonstrance to be printed in the public papers;—and by passing an instruction to their representatives in parliament, directing "that they should move immediately at the next meeting for an humble address from the commons to his majesty, requesting to know who were the advisers of those fatal measures, which had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and plunged the nation into civil war;—also to know who were the advisers of the present measure of refusing petitions;—and then to move for an impeachment of the authors and advisers of all those measures." This instruction was too absurd to be obeyed in its full extent by the most abject tools of the party*. A few

* Mr. Oliver, who brought forward the business in the house of commons, confined the charges to the

words will be ſufficient to expoſe the miſrepreſentations on which it was founded. Popery had been planted in Canada by the French ſettlers, and its free exercife there expreſsly ſtipulated in the ſurrender and final ceſſion of that province to great Britain: the continuance alſo of their old laws in matters relating to property, and the introduction of trials by jury in criminal caſes, as little deſerved the opprobrious name of arbitrary power, as the attempt to aſſert the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature in the other colonies: the facts already related in the ſecond volume afford indiſputable evidence, that the leaders of the minority in both houſes were not only the encouragers, but, in a great degree the authors of the American rebellion: and, laſtly, the alledged refuſal of petitions was a palpable falſhood.

XIX. Among other reſolutions of the common-hall at the midſummer meeting, public thanks were ordered to be given to the earl of Effingham, " for having, conſiſtently with the principles of a true Engliſhman, refuſed

advifers of the American meafures; nor did Mr. Sawbridge, who feconded him, fupply the omiffion. They did not, however, efcape the reproach of inconfiftency, for profeffing to act in obedience to the inftruction of their conftituents, when they overlooked feveral particular points. Mr. Wilkes, with all his " divine zeal" for the rights of his fellow citizens, faid not a word of the pretended refufal of their remonftrance, though he enlarged in the following ftrain on the population of the colonies: " The Americans are a pious and religious people. With much ardour and fuccefs they follow the firft great command of heaven, *Be fruitful and multiply*. While they are fervent in thefe devout exercifes, while the men continue enterprifing and healthy, the women kind and prolific, all attempts to fubdue them by force will be ridiculous and unavailing." But neither Mr. Wilkes's pleafantry, nor Mr. Oliver's fuppreffion of fome parts of his inftructions had any weight. The motion was fupported by only ten members out of one hundred and feventy three then prefent in the houfe, all the reft giving it a direct negative.

to

to draw that ſword, which had been employed to the honour of his country, againſt the lives and liberties of his fellow ſubjects in America." A candid view of the earl's conduct will ſhew how far he was deſerving of this particular teſtimony of applauſe. His inclination had led him when a youth into the army; but as the peace of 1763 had precluded any opportunities of practical improvement in his profeſſion at home, upon the breaking out of the war between the Turks and Ruſſians, he entered as a volunteer in the ſervice of the latter. Since his return, he joined his parliamentary friends in their oppoſition to the acts paſſed for ſecuring the obedience of the colonies; and finding that the regiment to which he belonged was intended for the American ſervice, he thought it would appear inconſiſtent in him to enforce meaſures in his military character, which he had condemned in his legiſlative capacity. A modeſt reſignation on theſe principles, whether juſt or miſtaken, would have ſhewn at leaſt the purity of his motives, if his letter on the ſubject to the ſecretary at war had not been ſtrongly tinctured with party ſpirit, and if he had not concluded it with a requeſt that, as he waved the advantage, which cuſtom entitled him to, of ſelling his commiſſion, he might be allowed to retain his rank. The requeſt was as unreaſonable as his ſtrictures on what had received the ſanction of the legiſlature were indelicate. Military rank neceſſarily implies a willingneſs to perform military ſervice; and when the ſuperior authorities of king and parliament decide in favor of war, it is no part of an officer's duty to inquire into the juſtice or policy of the quarrel. Though the earl's courage and ambition were undiſputed, yet every coward might avail himſelf of the ſame excuſe, if officers were allowed, without loſs of character or rank, to deſert their poſt in the hour of danger. His example, therefore, notwithſtanding the empty panegyrics of a faction, was not likely to prove very contagious. The earl of Chatham's eldeſt ſon, an enſign in the forty ſeventh regiment which was ordered to Boſton, and James Wilſon Eſq. a member of the oppoſition

oppoſition in the Iriſh houſe of commons, and captain of marines, were the only conſpicuous characters that reſigned, the one in obedience to his father, and the other from an adherence to political opinions: but they did not, like lord Effingham, ſolicit the retaining of their rank, though the latter of them in particular had much ſtronger claims than his lordſhip, having raiſed a hundred and ſixty men on his own eſtate in the year 1760, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the actual ſervice of his country during the remainder of the war.

XX. Such trifling deſertions in the army could give no uneaſineſs to any government; but miniſtry had at this time ſtrong reaſons to apprehend a very unpleaſant defection in the cabinet. During the ſummer receſs, the duke of Grafton, who had been for ſome years at the head of the treaſury board, and now held the office of privy ſeal, wrote a letter to lord North, expreſſing his attachment to his majeſty, and his zealous deſire to ſee the government flouriſh under the adminiſtration of the noble lord to whom it was now entruſted; but adding that it was his firm opinion ſome effectual means ought to be adopted for the purpoſe of terminating the unfortunate differences with America, and ſuggeſting one method by which he thought intercourſe and negociation might commence, under the offer of a truce to the revolted colonies, ſanctioned by an addreſs of both houſes to the king, on various motives of policy, affection, and humanity. He renewed the ſame obſervations in a ſtill more earneſt and deciſive manner after the arrival of Mr. Penn with the petition from congreſs, by the plauſible language of which his grace was deceived into a belief of the ſincerity of their pacific and loyal profeſſions. The petition was delivered by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, on the firſt of September, to lord Dartmouth, who ſaid, "no anſwer would be given." The duke urged this circumſtance as a new argument in favor of the ſtep he had before recommended, obſerving that, if deputies from congreſs could not be formally acknowledged by the king, there was the greater neceſſity for adopting ſome other expedient by which the

wiſhes

wiſhes and expectations of his majeſty's American ſubjects might be ſtated and properly conſidered, as, he ſaid, a want of intercourſe muſt remain an inſuperable bar to accommodation. When he found that he could not gain over any one of the cabinet to his way of thinking on this ſubject, he requeſted an audience of the king, in which he explained at full length the reaſons why he could no longer take any part in the adminiſtration of affairs. The king liſtened with attention, and condeſcendingly endeavoured to demonſtrate to his grace the juſtice, the policy, and neceſſity of the meaſures now purſued; but not being able to effect the conviction he wiſhed, his majeſty expreſſed his regret at parting with ſo experienced and faithful a ſervant. The duke's intentions were not publicly known till after the meeting of parliament, when, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, even of thoſe whom he had angrily quitted, he declaimed againſt the whole ſyſtem of their late proceedings, with a degree of violence as intemperate and unjuſtifiable as that which he himſelf had condemned on a nearly ſimilar occaſion in lord Chatham, whoſe invectives he conſidered as "the effects of a diſtempered mind brooding over its own diſcontent."

XXI. It is remarkable that for ſome time before the duke came to an open rupture with his colleagues in office, and while he was privately endeavouring to perſuade them that the ſentiments of the congreſs were very popular in England, addreſſes poured in from moſt parts of the kingdom, fully declaratory of the ſenſe of a great majority of the people, ſome in warm, others in more diſpaſſionate language, but all condemning the ungrateful and refractory ſpirit of the Americans, approving of the acts of government, and recommending a perſeverance in the ſame meaſures, until the colonies ſhould be brought to a full ſenſe of their errors and their duty. Nothing could be more irritating to the gentlemen of the oppoſition than theſe addreſſes, many of which conveyed very pointed ſtrictures not only on their doctrines, but their conduct, "in abetting an inſolent rebellion againſt the conſtitutional guardians of freedom and order." The ſeverity of

of these strictures had been provoked by the industrious dispersion of inflammatory papers, and by circular letters to persons of influence and property recommending associations on the principle they had been entered into previous to the revolution, and thereby implying that another revolution was now necessary. Under such circumstances, all good citizens thought it their duty to proclaim to the world their just abhorrence of every attempt to alienate the minds of his majesty's subjects, and their readiness to maintain with their lives and fortunes the authority of the legislature in every part of the British dominions. It is also certain that addresses in favor of a system of just coercion were not thought of, till petitions against it made their appearance. The number of the latter, notwithstanding the most indefatigable endeavours to obtain them, was comparatively small. They came from places notoriously devoted to the service of a faction, or from a few mercantile communities, whose private interests, as before observed, were likely to be materially injured by an American war. This was the case not only of those who carried on a direct trade to the colonies on the continent, but also to the West India islands, which used to receive from North America the principal articles necessary for their sustenance and support. It was therefore no wonder to see the merchants of Bristol, of Lancaster, or of other towns in the like predicament, actuated by the same motives as the merchants of London, and deprecating what they apprehended would be extremely prejudicial, if not ruinous to those branches of commerce in which they were engaged. The same may be said of persons concerned in the Newfoundland fishery. They had sustained great inconvenience and loss, chiefly through their own want of foresight; and were willing to lay as much of the blame as they could on government. In consequence of the act passed the last session for restraining the colonies from a share in that fishery, a greater number than usual of ships and men, to be employed in it, were sent out from England and Ireland. But it seems that no precautions were used to guard against the pro-

bable effects of retaliation on the part of congress, who prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kinds of provision. This threw the whole business upon the banks of Newfoundland into the utmost disorder; and many of the ships, instead of being loaded with fish, were dispatched to procure flour and provisions wherever they were to be found. The dread of famine was for a few days suspended by another terrible calamity. About seven hundred boats with the people belonging to them and eleven ships with most of their crews perished in a tempest, the fury of which exceeded any thing ever before experienced even on that stormy coast*. The inhabitants of such towns in England as are principally supported by the cod fishery, inconsiderately ascribed those disasters to the quarrel with America; and were ready to join the complaints of their distresses to the clamour of faction. But the petitioners on this subject to parliament very properly confined themselves to a representation of the inconveniences they suffered "from the usual resources of bread, flour, and other necessaries being totally interrupted by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies;" and concluded with a prayer for liberty to export those articles, under certain restrictions, from any part of the mother country where they could obtain them on the most reasonable terms.

XXII. A temporary alarm had also been excited at one of the out-ports by the decline of another branch of commerce, the total abolition of which will, it is hoped, ere long be added to the other glorious monuments of the liberal policy and humanity of the British legislature.

* This awful wreck of nature, which happened on the eleventh of September, was as singular in its circumstances, as fatal in its effects. The sea is said to have risen thirty feet almost instantaneously, and to have spread its ravages far into the island, the waves overpassing all mounds, and sweeping every thing before them. The shores presented a shocking spectacle for some time after, and the fishing nets were hauled up loaded with human bodies.

The

The inability of purchasing and providing for negroes at this juncture in the West India islands, the loss of the American market for slaves, and the impediments caused by the proclamations of council against the exportation of arms and ammunition had, all together, nearly extinguished the African trade. This was more particularly felt at Liverpool, which had possessed a much greater part of that horrid traffic than any other port in the kingdom. As the Guinea ships arrived, they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future destination, and their crews paid off. Those in like manner belonging to the Greenland ships, upon their return in July and the beginning of August, were as usual discharged; so that the number of seamen out of employ in that town was said to amount to above two thousand. In this situation, the seamen complained that an attempt was made by the merchants to lower their wages; upon which they cut the rigging of some ships to pieces, assaulted some houses, and committed other acts of outrage. They, however, dispersed again, and all became quiet; but the seizing a number of them, and sending them to prison, re kindled the flame with greater violence. The sailors immediately assembled; procured not only fire arms, but cannon; and were preparing to storm the prison, when its safety was purchased by the enlargement of their companions. But their rage was now too high, and they were too much inflamed by liquor, to be appeased by reasonable concessions. They not only proceeded to destroy the houses of obnoxious persons, but they at length marched in a body to demolish the Exchange. This danger was foreseen, or probably announced by themselves, a considerable time before the attempt, so that the Exchange was shut up, barricaded, and well garrisoned by the merchants and townsmen. The sailors, however, made several confused attacks in the evening of the twenty ninth of August; nor did they discontinue their efforts during the whole night and part of the ensuing morning, though several of them, through their drunkenness and unguarded exposure of themselves to the fire

of

he defendants, were killed and wounded. The arrival of a detachment of light horse at length put an end to the tumult. It was then feared by the timid, and hoped by the turbulent and disaffected, that this would prove only a prelude to other disorders. But the affair was accidental; and sufficient employment for the seamen was soon found, either in the king's service, or in other maritime adventures, the profits of which made ample amends to the people of Liverpool for the interruption of the slave trade.

XXIII. Notwithstanding the uncommon pains which have been taken in London to inflame the public discontents, the tranquillity of the metropolis had not yet been disturbed by any riots; and the spirit of faction seemed to have evaporated in audacious and insulting remonstrances to the throne. An event, which happened just before the meeting of parliament, excited for a few days some serious apprehensions, that plots and conspiracies were secretly hatching under all those external appearances of submission to the laws. An information had been laid before lord Rochford, the secretary of state for the southern department, by one Mr. Francis Richardson, a native of America, and an adjutant in the guards, charging a countryman of his, Stephen Sayre Esq. then a banker in London, with having an intention of seizing the king's person, as his majesty went to the house of peers; also an intention of taking possession of the tower, and of overturning the present government. The means, indeed, as far as the information of the witness went, seemed very inadequate to the greatness and difficulty of the end. It was merely proposed to bribe some serjeants of the guards and their men to concur in the design. But as the folly of a wicked attempt did not prove that no such attempt could be made;—as Richardson's testimony was positive;—and as other schemes of co-operation might have been planned, though not communicated to him; lord Rochford thought himself obliged officially, to issue an order for taking the accused person into custody, and for seizing his papers. The order was executed in the morn-

ing of the twenty third of October, by two of the king's messengers and a constable, who conducted Mr. Sayre from his own house in Oxford Street to the secretary's office, where sir John Fielding was also waiting to be present at the examination. The only papers of any political consequence found at Mr. Sayre's were a letter from the famous Mrs. Macauly, and another addressed to the livery of London, under the signature of "Barnard's Ghost," with a few more written in the like bold strain, but affording no proof of any plot, or treasonable correspondence. After the information was read to Mr. Sayre, he replied to the whole with great firmness: he said he was but slightly acquainted with the adjutant; and then mentioned the only private conversation which had ever passed between them, in which he acknowledged he had expressed himself very freely concerning the unhappy and destructive contest now depending in America, and that he had concluded this conversation by saying, "he feared there was not spirit enough in this country to bring about a total change of men and measures:" but that as to any plan or intention of seizing the person of the king, or any expression which could be construed into such intention, he totally and utterly denied. He was proceeding to expose the futility of the charges, and to make comments on what he called the dangerous disposition of persons high in office to encourage informers, when Mr. Reynolds, his attorney, for whom he had dispatched a servant the moment he was taken up, came to the office, and being permitted to attend the examination, advised his client not to answer any interrogatories, which lord Rochford or sir John Fielding might propound, nor to sign any paper. The information not amounting to a direct charge against Mr. Sayre, and not being corroborated by any farther evidence, at least of treason, lord Rochford ought certainly to have accepted sufficient bail for his future appearance, or to have consulted the great law officers of state upon the subject, instead of being hurried by his zeal to commit Mr. Sayre close prisoner to the Tower, where no person
but

but his wife was permitted to visit him. His confinement, however, lasted only five days, at the end of which an *habeas corpus* being granted for bringing him before lord Mansfield, his lordship, upon reading the warrant of commitment, in which Mr. Sayre was only charged with "treasonable practises," readily admitted him to bail*. No prosecution on the part of the crown was afterwards attempted; and the recognisance entered into before the lord chief justice being consequently discharged, Mr. Sayre sued the earl of Rochford for illegal imprisonment, for which a jury gave him one thousand pounds damages.

XXIV. The parliament, which had been prorogued the twenty sixth of May, met again on the twenty sixth of October, after a shorter recess and at a much earlier period than usual, for the reasons stated in his majesty's speech, the insertion of which at full length will be the best reply to the astonishing malignity of the remarks made upon it by the minority in both houses:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The present situation of America, and my constant desire to have your advice, concurrence, and assistance on every important occasion, have determined me to call you thus early together.

"Those who have long too successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force: they have seized the public revenue and assumed to themselves le-

* After the business was over, Mr. Sayre thanked his lordship for the great politeness and candour he had shewn on the occasion; and hoped his lordship would always act in the like impartial manner, according to the constitution. "I hope so too," replied his lordship. "Let us both act according to the constitution, and we shall avoid all difficulties and dangers."

giſlative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exerciſe, in the moſt arbitrary manner, over the perſons and properties of their fellow-ſubjects, and although many of theſe unhappy people may ſtill retain their loyalty, and may be too wiſe not to ſee the fatal conſequence of this uſurpation, and wiſh to reſiſt it; yet the torrent of violence has been ſtrong enough to compel their acquieſcence, till a ſufficient force ſhould appear to ſupport them.

"The authors and promoters of this deſperate conſpiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuſe, by vague expreſſions of attachment to the parent ſtate, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of loyalty to me, whilſt they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your laſt ſeſſion, that a rebellion exiſted within the province of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, yet even that province we wiſhed rather to reclaim than to ſubdue. The reſolutions of parliament breathed a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance: conciliatory propoſitions accompanied the meaſures taken to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to caſes of criminal combinations amongſt ſubjects not then in arms. I have acted with the ſame temper; anxious to prevent it it had been poſſible, the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war, ſtill hoping that my people in America would have diſcerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a ſubject of Great Britain, with all its conſequences, is to be the freeſt member of any civil ſociety in the known world.

"The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifeſtly carried on for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the ſucceſs of ſuch a plan. The object is too important, the ſpirit of the Britiſh nation too high, the reſources with which God hath bleſſed her too numerous, to give up ſo many colonies which ſhe has planted with great induſtry, nurſed with great tenderneſs, encou-

raged

raged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expence of blood and treasure.

"It is now become the part of wisdom, and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased my naval establishment, and greatly augmented my land forces, but in such a manner as may be the least burthensome to my kingdoms.

"I have also the satisfaction to inform you, that I have received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance; and if I shall make any treaties in consequence thereof, they shall be laid before you. And I have, in testimony of my affection for my people, who can have no cause in which I am not equally interested, sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of my Electoral troops, in order that a larger number of the established forces of this kingdom may be applied to the maintenance of its authority; and the national militia, planned and regulated, with equal regard to the rights, safety, and protection of my crown and people, may give a farther extent and activity to our military operations.

"When the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, I shall be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; and in order to prevent the inconveniencies which may arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove, as soon as possible, the calamities which they suffer, I shall give authority to certain persons upon the spot to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they shall think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which shall be disposed to return to its allegiance. It may be also proper to authorise the persons so commissioned to restore such province or colony, so returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if such province or colony had never revolted.

 "Gentlemen

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

"I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and rely on your affection to me, and your resolution to maintain the just rights of this country, for such supplies as the the present circumstances of our affairs require. Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly than the extraordinary burthen which it must create to my faithful subjects.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have fully opened to you my views and intentions. The constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the safety and happiness of all my people, and to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity through the several parts of my dominions, in a close connection and constitutional dependance. You see the tendency of the present disorders, and I have stated to you the measures which I mean to pursue for suppressing them. Whatever remains to be done that may farther contribute to this end, I commit to your wisdom. And I am happy to add, that, as well from the assurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability that the measures which you may adopt will be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power."

XXV. Every reader will judge for himself of the truth, candour, humanity, and patriotism, that shine through this speech, and give it the utmost grace as well as energy. It breathes the genuine spirit of an affectionate father compelled to punish a froward child, but at the same time soothing the anguish of his own heart with the fond hope that the rod, which he reluctantly employs, will prove the happy instrument of effectual correction and reform. The principles on which the whole was founded, were so just, that it might have appeared previously difficult to conjecture by what sort of arguments it could possibly be opposed. But experience has shewn how fertile in objections to the most striking evidence of reason the wit of man is, when influenced by prejudice, interest,

or

or any other paſſion. The debates, to which addreſſes in perfect uniſon with the ſpeech gave riſe, afford ſtrong proofs at leaſt of the inventive talents of the minority. This party in the houſe of commons had now ſome of the firſt orators in the kingdom at their head, Mr. Burke and his friends having been lately joined by Mr. Fox, who, to uſe a very common, but, in its application to him, a peculiarly juſt and ſignificant phraſe, was "himſelf a hoſt." The little blemiſhes of his private character were loſt in the effulgence of his genius; and the matchleſs powers of eloquence, which he ſoon diſplayed on the ſide of oppoſition, ſhewed the very bad policy, not to call it the inconſiderate folly of the miniſter, in having diſmiſſed him the preceding year from his ſeat on the treaſury bench, with circumſtances, it was ſaid, of rudeneſs and indignity. It muſt, however, be acknowledged that Mr. Fox often appeared more actuated by his ſenſe of that affront, than by the nobler motives of conviction or principle; and that the general impreſſion, which many of his ſpeeches would otherwiſe have made, was prevented by the acrimony of his perſonal attacks on lord North. Upon no occaſion was this more evident than when he oppoſed the addreſs, and ſupported an amendment moved by lord John Cavendiſh, cenſuring the raſhneſs and inefficacy of the late meaſures, and recommending the conſideration of other means of reſtoring order to the diſtracted affairs of the empire, without the dangerous expedient of calling in foreign forces, or the more dreadful calamity of ſhedding Britiſh blood by Britiſh arms. Such means were, indeed, moſt devoutly to be wiſhed; but the demonſtration of them did not conſiſt in deſcribing lord North "as the blundering pilot, who had brought the nation into its preſent difficulties;" nor were they to be found out in the ſimile of Mr. Burke, who adviſed England "no longer to appear like a porcupine, armed all over with acts of parliament."—Happy would this country be, if ſhe was never obliged to put on any other armour than the acts of her legiſlature; and if the ſacred ſhield of her laws had never been perforated.

rated by the javelins of rebellion. Mr. Temple Luttrell aſſerted, that the mother country, notwithſtanding the falſe parade of her ſtrength and reſources, was unequal to the conteſt; and borrowing the words of ſir Charles Sedley, to expreſs his aſtoniſhment, *that a nation ſick at heart ſhould wear ſo florid a countenance*, he aſked whether " it was not a hectic bloom, which is frequently found to accompany a radical decay of the conſtitution, or rather ſome artificial beautifier ſpread over the ſurface of a cadaverous ſubſtance, for popular ſhew and deluſion."—The doubt of its being the infallible ſymptom of health and vigour could exiſt only in a jaundiced fancy, and was fully refuted by the exertions which Great Britain called forth againſt an unnatural combination of her traitorous ſubjects with all her moſt inveterate enemies. Colonel Barré was very ſevere in his remarks on the events of the ſummer campaign; and ſaid, " though he had loſt one eye in America, he had ſtill one military eye left, which did not deceive him."—But with all its optic penetration, the only thing it could diſcover was, that a ſufficient force had not been employed. General Conway made an apology for voting againſt the addreſs, and for differing from the reſt of the king's ſervants with whom he was joined. He reprobated the coercive ſyſtem with regard to America, and wiſhed to ſee the declaratory bill, a bill ſtrenuouſly defended by him when ſecretary of ſtate, now repealed, " ſince," he added, " ſo bad an uſe had been made of it."—The independency of his ſpirit in refuſing implicitly to ſupport every meaſure of government, might have done him honour; but it was impoſſible to view his frequent and rapid changes from one ſide or party to another during the whole of his public career, without feeling ſome aſtoniſhment at the contraſt between his military and his political character,—between his firmneſs in the field, and his capricious verſatility in the ſenate. The ſpeeches of the ſubalterns of oppoſition, ſuch as Mr. Wilkes and governor Johnſtone, though long and violent, are ſcarcely deſerving of notice, that of the former being, as uſual, remarkable only for ribaldry

ribaldry and extravagance, and the latter for egotiſm, and the moſt bare-faced denial of facts. According to Mr. Wilkes, the taxing of the coloniſts was *felony*, and the attempt to make them acquieſce was *murder*. Governor Johnſtone pointed his principal batteries at the facts, which, he ſaid, were aſſumed in the ſpeech from the throne. He denied that parliament had been called *early* together, though very few inſtances could be given of their meeting ſo ſoon after the ſummer receſs. But the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill having reached England in Auguſt, and the petition from congreſs having been preſented on the firſt of September, "*I maintain*," ſaid the governor, "as a member of parliament, intruſted with a voice in the ſupreme authority of the empire, that *I* am called late to deliberate in the national council on ſuch *great* events."—The diſlodging of part of a beſieging army from a poſt whence they might have very much annoyed the beſieged, and the preſenting of a deluſive petition from an illegal aſſembly, deſirous only of gaining time to give ſtability to their own uſurped power, were events of ſuch critical importance, that a moment's delay to conſult this enlightened ſtateſman on the ſubject was, no doubt, a proof of the moſt criminal remiſſneſs in adminiſtration. He affirmed, with the like modeſty, that another fact ſtated in the ſpeech from the throne, with regard to the leaders of the rebellion in America, who were ſaid to be "collecting a naval force," was a "notorious untruth." The delicacy of this contradiction could only be equalled by the evidence with which it was ſupported: it reſted upon the old prop of all the governor's aſſertions, his indiſputable "*I maintain*."—But he touched upon a third point, which, admitting of ſome colour of plauſibility, was enforced with much greater ingenuity by ſeveral ſpeakers on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. They ſaid, that the charge brought againſt the Americans of endeavouring "to amuſe by vague expreſſions of attachment to the parent ſtate, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of loyalty to the king, whilſt they were pre-

paring

paring for a general revolt," was unfounded,—was directly contrary to their most express declarations both by word and by writing, and to what every person knew of their general temper and disposition. The colonists, it was confidently asserted, never meant to break off their connection with the mother country, though they might be driven to it, and would undoubtedly prefer independence to slavery. But these specious references to the declarations of the congress, and the arguments drawn from the supposed coincidence of their sentiments with their language, were very ably refuted by the advocates for the address. They shewed how absurd it was to infer from the conduct of the Americans, that they aimed at less than unconditional, unqualified, and total independence. The provincial assemblies and the general congress had asserted in the most positive terms, an exclusive right of legislation in all matters of internal policy: they had denied the authority of Great Britain to keep a single soldier on the whole continent without their consent: they had seized all the powers of government, raising armies, issuing bills for their support, and engaging in every plan not merely of resistance or defence, but of hostile invasion and unjustifiable attack*, at the very instant that they hypocritically spoke of constitutional obedience, and that their petitions breathed moderation and peace. Was it more consistent with wisdom to infer their intentions from their words than from their deeds? Every attempt that could be made to soften the colonists had been put in practice without effect: their obstinacy was inflexible; and in proportion as the parent state acceded to their wishes, their pretensions became more insolent and overbearing; nor would they, even when allowed to tax themselves, gratify the mother country so far as to contribute a single shilling towards the common exigencies of the empire†. In this state, and

* See page 17.

† The only one of the colonies that embraced lord North's conciliatory proposition was Nova Scotia, the representatives of which in general assembly unanimously

and after the ſteps already taken, it was impoſſible to recede without the loſs of authority and honour: no alternative, in fact, was left for the Britiſh nation but to maintain its juſt ſovereignty, or to give up America for ever. Upon the moſt candid review of all the ſpeeches of both parties, it does not appear that the miniſtry were ſtaggered in their defence of any one clauſe in the addreſs, except that which thanked his majeſty for his gracious conſideration in ſending a part of his electoral troops to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in order that a larger number of the eſtabliſhed forces of this kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority. The introduction of foreigners into any part of the Britiſh dominions, without the previous conſent of parliament, was ſo alarming to the prejudices of the old Whigs and independent members, and was by them deemed ſo repugnant to the principles of the Bill of Rights, that no endeavours to prove the expediency or legality of the meaſure could give them ſatisfaction; and lord North, in order to ſecure their concurrence in the addreſs, was obliged to ſay, " that, though he had adviſed the meaſure as believing it right, and though he ſtill continued to think ſo, yet as other gentlemen, for whom he had ever held the higheſt deference, ſeemed to

mouſly voted, on the twenty fourth of June, an addreſs to the king and both houſes of parliament, containing the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of duty and affection to his majeſty's perſon and family, as well as of attachment and perfect ſubmiſſion to the mother country; and humbly requeſting the ſupreme legiſlature to accept of the payment of ſome ſpecific duty per cent. on the importation of all foreign commodities, by which means the amount of the revenue would at all times bear a due proportion to the opulence and conſumption of the province. In conformity to this offer, which was laid before parliament the firſt day of the ſeſſion, ſome reſolutions were afterwards propoſed by lord North, and paſſed in a committee of the houſe; but no bill was brought in, nor any farther endeavours uſed to carry the matter into effect.

be of another opinion, he had no objection that the question should be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the house, when he would cheerfully abide by their determination; and if it was their general sense that the measure was illegal, or unconstitutional, he should rest the defence on the ground of necessity only, and then its advisers might receive the protection, as was always practised in such cases, of an act of indemnity*. The good effect of this declaration, though not made till the next evening, appeared in bringing back to their usual support of administration many who had gone away without voting the night before. The result of the first day's debate, as it was called, though continued till half past four o'clock the ensuing morning, was the rejection of lord John Cavendish's amendment by a majority of 278 against 108; after which the motion for the address was carried without a division. As the forms of the house rendered it necessary to receive the report upon the address from the committee, the afternoon of the second day, the abilities of the principal speakers had but a few hours for relaxation or repose before they were again exerted in the discussion of the same topics. It was now that lord North's well-timed concession on the above point satisfied most of the country gentlemen, who would otherwise have voted either for the recommitment of the address, or for expunging the obnoxious passage, and inserting in its place an amendment, declaring that the house would immediately take that measure into consideration. When the question, therefore, was put, the amendment was rejected, and

* A bill was accordingly brought in by the minister, founded on "the doubts which had been entertained of the legality of the measure;" but though it passed the house of commons, it was rejected by the lords without defence or division, those in administration not thinking an indemnity necessary, and the others objecting to the structure of the bill, the enacting clauses of which contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble did not positively allow that any had been committed.

the

the addrefs in its original form agreed to, by a majority of 176 to 72. To this account of the proceedings of the commons at the opening of the feffion, it is unneceffary to add any detail of the debate to which a fimilar addrefs and the propofal of a fimilar amendment gave rife in the houfe of peers, as the arguments for or againft the one and the other were fubftantially the fame as in the lower houfe, however diverfified by the ftile and manner of the different fpeakers. Some remarks have been already made on the duke of Grafton's defection from his colleagues*, which he now publicly avowed; but in ftating his reafons for deferting them, he expreffed himfelf with fo much acrimony and violence as only betrayed his own weaknefs, inftead of doing any material injury to the caufe which he attacked, or rendering any effential fervice to that which he efpoufed. In a divifion on the marquis of Rockingham's amendment, which was feconded by his grace, they were left in a minority of 29 againft 69; and the original motion for the addrefs was carried by a majority of 76 to 33. The duke then joined eighteen of his new affociates in a proteft that might very properly be called a fummary of their invectives againft the miniftry, as well as of their objections to the addrefs. A few days after, the privy feal, which had been held by his grace, was given to the earl of Dartmouth; and lord George Germain was appointed to the vacant poft of fecretary of ftate for the colonies. Lord Rochford having, at the fame time, retired from public bufinefs, the earl of Weymouth was re-inftated in the office of fecretary for the fouthern department, which he had refigned in the year 1771. Thefe were followed by fome other promotions of lefs confequence, among which, however, that of lord Lyttleton to the chief jufticefhip in Eyre may be thought to deferve particular mention. This young noblemen, who had fucceeded to the title in the the year 1773, diftinguifhed himfelf fo eminently in the beginning of the very next feffion, as to imprefs not only the houfe of peers, but the public at large, with a

 * See page 32. firm

firm belief, that the brilliancy of his own genius would ſoon outſhine the tranſmiſſive luſtre of his father's reputation. His *maiden* ſpeech on the great queſtion of literary property, in reply to lord Camden, was univerſally admired; and the farther improvement of his talents in debate ſeemed now to render him a deſirable acquiſition to the miniſtry. But though well qualified to ſuſtain and even to increaſe the parliamentary honours of the father, he inherited but a very ſmall portion of that amiable parent's moral excellencies. Allured by the falſe charms of vicious pleaſure, he indulged without reſtraint in all thoſe fatal exceſſes which enervate the mind, debaſe the character, and are almoſt equally incompatible with preſent eſteem and future hope. After a few years' diſſipation, he ſank into the grave, the early victim of intemperance and debauchery.

XXVI. The great majorities, with which the addreſſes had been carried in both houſes, did not diſcourage a variety of attempts to impede, or to render odious, ſeveral of the meaſures ſo formally approved. Reſolutions of cenſure were brought forward on the illegality of ſending the Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Port Mahon, without the previous conſent of parliament: a bill for enabling his majeſty to call out and aſſemble the militia, in caſes of rebellion in any part of the Britiſh dominions, was vehemently reſiſted in every ſtage of its progreſs, though the militia had been properly characterized in the addreſs, as "a conſtitutional reſource, which, upon every great emergency, could not fail of affording ſecurity to his majeſty's realm, and of giving, at the ſame time, extent and activity to his military operations:" the increaſe of the naval eſtabliſhment, and the augmentation of the land forces, notwithſtanding the aſſurances already given of cheerfully and effectually ſupporting the crown in ſuch neceſſary meaſures, were alſo oppoſed with equal obſtinacy, but with as little effect as any of the former:* in ſhort, the minority let ſlip no

* Twenty-eight thouſand ſeamen were voted, and 55,000 men for the land ſervice.

opportunity

opportunity of harrassing administration, by frequent returns to the charge, if not with an increase of numbers, at least with inexhaustible supplies of asperity and violence. Foiled in all their other schemes, the members of the opposition directed their thoughts to that conciliatory paragraph in the speech from the throne, in which his majesty declared his readiness to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy, and his intention to give proper powers to persons on the spot, in order to hasten the desirable interchanges of submission and pardon, of allegiance and security. On this ground a motion was made by Mr. Temple Luttrell for an address to his majesty, that the commissioners appointed to act in America, for the purposes held out in the speech, should be authorized "to receive proposals for conciliation, from any general convention, congress, or other collective body, that should be found to convey the sentiments of one or more of the continental colonies, suspending all inquiry into the legal or illegal forms under which such colony or colonies may be disposed to treat; as the most effectual means to prevent the effusion of blood, and to reconcile the honour and permanent interest of Great Britain with the requisitions of his majesty's American subjects."—The motion was negatived after a very short debate, and without any division, it being thought more becoming the dignity of parliament, as well as more consistent with policy, to find some other method, rather than acknowledge the congress, by entering into a treaty with them, to be a legal assembly, which, it was imagined, would determine the whole question of dispute in favour of America. But far more strenuous exertions were used on the same day (Nov. 7.) in the house of peers, in support of a motion, which, though seemingly occasioned by an accidental circumstance, was discovered, from its ultimate tendency, to have been made in perfect concert with the step taken by Mr. Luttrell in the lower house. The petition from the congress, among other papers, having been on that day laid before the lords, the Duke of Richmond observed,

that he saw Mr. Penn below the bar, and moved, that he might be examined, in order to establish the authenticity of the petition, before they entered into any debates upon its contents, thereby to obviate the doubts which might otherwise probably arise upon that head, and be the means of interrupting their proceedings.— Besides the informality of the proposed step, the immediate inconvenience of bringing in extraneous matter by surprise, the consequences of establishing such a precedent, and various other objections, the fallacy of the pretence was clearly shewn by an offer to admit the authenticity of the paper in question without any proof.— A long debate however arose, which ended in rejecting the motion by a majority of 56 to 22. The Duke then moved, that Mr. Penn should be examined on a future day; which, after some remarks on the little regard due to *ex parte* evidence, was agreed to, and the following Friday (Nov. 10.) was appointed for that purpose. It required no great sagacity to foresee that Mr. Penn's answers to any questions, which might be asked him, would coincide with the sentiments expressed in the petition. He believed them to be sincere, and that the congress had hitherto entertained no designs of independency, but were inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of the mother country, though not in taxation. He said, that the war was levied and carried on by the colonists in defence of what they conceived to be their rights and liberties, which they thought themselves able to maintain against the arms of Great Britain: that it was greatly to be feared, if conciliatory measures were not speedily pursued, they would form connections with foreign powers: that if such connections were once formed, it would be found a matter of great difficulty to dissolve them: and he added, that the most intelligent men in Philadelphia were of opinion, that the refusal of the present petition would be a bar to all reconcilement. The examination being finished, the same nobleman, who had proposed it, moved, "that the petition from the continental congress to the king was

ground

ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and America." The same reasons, which had determined government not to give any answer to the petition, were now urged by the ministry against the Duke's motion. They maintained, "that it was impossible to recognise the petition, without relinquishing in that act the sovereignty of the British parliament:—that treating with an unlawful assembly, who at the very instant declared themselves to be in a state of open resistance and hostility, would be, to all intents and purposes, legalizing their proceedings, and admitting them to be the constitutional representatives of an independent sovereign state:—that, if they were subjects, they could not assemble or deliberate, but in a mode, and for the purposes prescribed by the constitution; and if they were not, it would be in the highest degree ridiculous to treat with them in a capacity which they disclaimed:—that their vague and equivocal acknowledgment of the legislative control of the mother country had been flatly contradicted by their opposing the exercise of it in every instance that militated with their interests or with their rebellious designs: that, in a word, the whole of the petition was an insidious attempt to gain time to impose upon the king and parliament; it being now a matter of indisputable notoriety, that while the authors held out smooth language and false professions, they were actually carrying war into the heart of a province on the continent to which they had not even the shadow of a claim, and, in their appeals to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, were abusing the parliament, denying its authority, and endeavouring to involve the whole empire in rebellion and bloodshed."—At the conclusion of the debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of 86 to 33.

XXVII. In a few days after, (Nov. 20.) lord North brought a bill into the house of commons, the professed object of which was to unite the most vigorous coercion with offers of lenity: to increase the severity of penal restrictions, but to leave it in the power of America

herſelf to prevent their operation. It contained an abſolute prohibition of all trade and intercourſe with the colonies, while they continued in rebellion: it made their ſhips lawful prizes, and declared their property, whether conſiſting of veſſels or merchandiſe, taken on the high ſeas or in harbour, to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majeſty's ſhips of war: it repealed the Boſton Port, the fiſhery, and reſtraining acts, their proviſions in ſome inſtances being deemed inſufficient in the preſent ſtate of warfare, and their effect in others being liable to interfere with that of the intended law: but though all the new reſtrictions were adapted to a ſtate of actual hoſtility, yet they were framed under ſuch proviſos as might open the door of peace upon its firſt approach; and with this view, a clauſe of the utmoſt importance was inſerted for enabling the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who, beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, ſhould be authorized to inquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any part or the whole of a colony were returned to that ſtate of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe the penal reſtrictions were to ceaſe in their favor. All the fire of oppoſition was rekindled by this bill; and no effort of ingenuity or addreſs was left unexerted to prevent the adoption of what they called ſo heterogeneous a mixture of conciliation and war: but in vain.* The bill

* Lord Mansfield's ſpeech in the debate on the third reading of the above bill in the houſe of peers having been as malignantly decried by one party as it was highly applauded by another, a few extracts from it will enable the reader to judge how much ſtreſs ought in general to be laid on the candour and accuracy of ſuch criticiſms. Having explained ſome clauſes which ſeemed to have been miſunderſtood, or miſrepreſented, his lordſhip ſpoke thus to the principle of the bill: "As to the original matter," he ſaid, "that gave riſe to this bill, I always was of opinion that the people

bill was carried through the necessary forms before the holidays, and received the royal assent on the twenty-third of December, when the lords adjourned to the twenty-third of January, the commons having done the same two days before.

1776.

ple of America were as much bound to obey the acts of the British parliament, as the inhabitants of London and Middlesex I always thought, that ever since the peace of Paris, the northern colonies were meditating a state of independency on this country. They have told you as much in one of the publications of the continental congress, wherein *they thank Providence, in inspiring their enemies with the resolution of not attempting to carry their schemes of dominion into execution, till they had arrived at a growth and strength sufficient to resist them.* I have not a doubt on my mind but this has been their intention from the period I allude to. Whatever might be their wishes before that time, their situation rendered it impracticable, because it was this country that could alone protect them against the power of France, to which their whole frontier lay exposed. But allowing that all their professions were genuine,---that their inclinations were those of duty and respect towards this country---that they entered into the present rebellion through the intrigues and arts of a few factious and ambitious men,---that the stamp act was improper,---that the declaratory law might assert the supremacy over that country, but it ought never to be exercised, nor amount to more than such a power as his present majesty claims over the kingdom of France, a mere nominal dominion,---that no troops should be sent into that country, even to defend them, without their own permission,---that the admiralty courts should never be made to extend there, though by the trial by jury the parties themselves would be judges,---that offenders against the laws and authority of this country should be tried for offences by persons who themselves were ready to declare they did not think the charges criminal,---that no restraints should be laid on their commerce, though that great bulwark of the riches and commerce of this country, the act of navigation

depended

1776. XXVIII. As no other meafure of importance was fubmitted by the minifter to the confideration of parliament till March, it may not prove altogether unfatisfactory, during this outward fufpenfe of the farther defigns of government, to trace the outlines of the various conciliatory plans relative to the colonies, which originated from different members of the minority, in the courfe of the laft and of the prefent feffion. The firft

depended on fuch reftraints,---that, in fhort, every meafure hitherto taken to fecure their fubmiffion was wrong :---yet, admitting all this to be true, my lords, what are we to do? Are we to reft inactive, with our arms acrofs, till they fhall think proper to begin the attack, and gain ftrength to do it with effect? We are now in fuch a fituation, that we muft either fight or be purfued. What a Swedifh general faid to his men, in the reign of Guftavus Adolphus, juft at the eve of a battle, is extremely applicable to us at prefent. Pointing to the enemy, who were marching down to engage them, fays he, *My lads, you fee thofe men, yonder: if you do not kill them, they will kill you.* If we do not, my lords, get the better of America, America will get the better of us. * * * * * It is faid the prefent war is only defenfive on the part of America. Is that the cafe? Is the attack on Canada, or the attempt on Halifax a defenfive war? * * * * * Are we in the midft of all the outrages of hoftility, of feizing our fhips, ftorming our forts, entering our provinces at the head of numerous armies, to ftand idle, becaufe we are told this is an unjuft war, and wait till they have brought their arms to our very doors?" His lordfhip then mentioned fome inftances of former wars, which were profecuted with vigour, though the juftice of their caufes was very difputable; and fhewed how abfurd it would be, in the prefent alarming pofture of affairs, to wafte the time in debates about who was originally in the wrong. "Such inquiries," faid he, "muft give way to our actual fituation, and the confequences which muft enfue, fhould we recede, would, nay muft, be infinitely worfe than any we have to dread by purfuing the prefent plan, or agreeing to a final feparation." * * * * * * *

motion

motion of this kind was made by the earl of Chatham, on the twentieth of January 1775; the object of which was an address to the king for recalling the troops from Boston, as the first step towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there, and for the purpose of preventing any sudden and fatal catastrophe. But his lordship was unable, with all the powers of his eloquence, to impress a conviction of the propriety of such a measure on the minds of many of his hearers. Some even of those who were the most earnest for an amicable adjustment of the disputes, did not think it either generous or wise to leave a great number of persons, who had risked their lives in favor of the claims of the mother country, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed and incensed populace, and that too, before any previous stipulations were made for their safety. A few supported the motion, merely because it looked towards peace, and because, they said, they thought any thing better than a perseverance in hostility. The friends of government were not more averse to the earl's proposal, than exasperated by his language. "I will knock," said he, "at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their danger;" and in order to do this, he declaimed against the tyranny of the legislature, justified resistance to its acts, ridiculed the means which had been employed to enforce submission, called the troops at Boston an army of irritation and impotence, said that the glorious spirit of Whiggism animated three millions in America who would die in defence of their rights, and asked what could oppose that spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every whig in England, to the amount, he hoped, of double the American numbers? He also affirmed, that they had Ireland to a man; and that the union of all freemen on both sides of the Atlantic in this great cause was "the alliance of God and nature—immutable—eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven." Such inflammatory rant was, indeed, well calculated to encourage a rebellious congress, but

but not to enlighten or persuade a British senate. The motion was rejected by an unusual majority of nearly four to one. Some of the earl's friends, or his own reflection having probably suggested to him, that the faint support he met with on this occasion, and the mortifying minority in which he was left, were owing to his intemperate sallies, he assumed a very different tone, the tone of mild and modest persuasion, in bringing forward, a few days after, a bill, to which the former motion was only preparatory, under the title of "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." The manner, in which he introduced this bill, agreed well with its avowed purpose:—it was really conciliating. He said he offered it as a basis for averting the dangers which threatened the British empire; and he hoped that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the house: he stated the urgent necessity of some such plan, as the delay of a few hours might, perhaps, for ever defeat the possibility of any friendly intervention: he represented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and destruction would be the inevitable consequence to both parties: he wished from principle and duty, to act the part of a mediator, solemnly protesting, "that no regard for popularity, no predeliction for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor his unalterable steady regard for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should in the present case influence his conduct:" he therefore intreated the assistance of the house to digest the crude materials which he presumed to lay before it, and to reduce his bill to that form which was suited to the dignity and importance of the subject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed: he called on their lordships to exercise their candour, and deprecated the effects of partiality or prejudice, of factious spleen, or blind predeliction: he declared

declared himself actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatever, adding that though the proposed bill might be looked upon as a bill of *concession*, it was impossible not to confess, at the same time, that it was a bill of *assertion*. After this preface, the earl explained the various objects of his bill. It laid down as a condition not to be controverted, and upon which all the benefits of the act depended, a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and the superintending power of the British parliament. It did not absolutely decide in words upon the right of taxation, but partly as a matter of grace, and partly, to appearance, as a compromise, declared and enacted, that no tallage, tax, or other charge shall be levied in America, except by common consent in their provincial assemblies. It asserted, as an undoubted prerogative, the royal right to send any part of a legal army to any part of its dominions, at all times, and in all seasons, and condemned a passage in the first petition from the continental congress, which militated with that right; but, as a salvo, declared, that no military force, however legally raised and kept, could ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. It legalized the holding of a congress in the ensuing month of May, for the double purpose of duly recognising the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt; taking it for granted that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother country and their obligations to her. On these conditions, it restrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits; and, without repealing, suspended for a limited time those late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the continental congress. It placed the judges upon the same footing, as to the holding of their

their salaries and offices, with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions. The majority against receiving this bill was 61 to 32 *; but it certainly would have done greater honour to many of the lords in administration, had they, in this instance, followed the example of liberality and candour set them by the earl at the head of the American department, who said, "that the bill took in such a variety of matter, that it was impossible to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; and that as its noble author did not seem to press the house to an immediate decision, but appeared rather desirous that it should be maturely and fully considered, he supposed it would be agreeable to him, and he would have no objection to receive it upon that condition, that it should lie upon the table, till the American papers were first taken into consideration." It is not improbable that the rest of the ministers, particularly lord Gower, lord Sandwich, and the duke of Grafton, still felt the smart of lord Chatham's irritating language when he made his former motion; and were now willing to retaliate, by treating him and his present bill with similar asperity and contempt. His bad state of health rendered him unable to attend to his duty in parliament from that time till the year 1777.— The subject of conciliation, however, was not dropt by other gentlemen of the minority. Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley submitted their respective plans to the house of commons at a more advanced period of the same session, but with no better success than lord Chatham's earlier attempts had met with in the house of lords. Mr. Burke introduced his famous propositions with one of the most dispassionate, argumentative, and eloquent speeches that he ever delivered. He said, that his plan was founded on the sure and solid basis of experience; that neither the chimeras of imagination, abstract ideas of right, or mere

* In the former division on the earl's motion for the recal of the troops, he was left in a minority of 18 against 68.

general

general theories of government ought to be attended to: he took a view of the origin and progress of the colonies, the astonishing growth of their population, the rapid increase of their commerce, fisheries, and agriculture; and thence deduced the line of conduct that should be pursued with regard to them,—a line, he asserted, which had uniformly led to security, advantage, and honour: he went into an historical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham into "an interest in the constitution;" and endeavoured to prove that this admission was not only the cause of the internal happiness of those countries, but of their attachment to the crown and supreme legislature: this, he maintained, had always been the grand principle of British policy towards all parts of the empire, though the mode of applying it was necessarily varied according to circumstances: to this old principle he therefore wished to go back, and to record it in the journals, as a settled ground of future proceedings, in order to guard against the mischiefs of late inconstancy: he took the doctrine, language, and mode of reasoning, contained in the preambles to former acts of parliament, for his models; and on these he meant "to establish the equity and justice of a taxation of America by *grant*, and not by *imposition*;—to mark the legal competency of the colony assemblies for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war;—to acknowledge that this legal competency has had a dutiful and beneficial exercise; and that experience has shewn the benefit of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply." This was the substance of Mr. Burke's six first propositions; to which he added seven more, respecting the settlement of an independent judicature, the regulation of the courts of admiralty, and the repeal of the late coercive acts. The previous question being moved on the first proposition, it was carried in favor of the ministry by 270 voices to 78; which decided the fate of all the rest. Mr. Hartley's scheme was seemingly intended to reconcile opposite opinions, by suppressing or softening

 the

the most offensive and contradictory points on both sides. It proposed, that letters of requisition should be issued, agreeably to ancient precedent, under authority of the crown, but on a motion from that house, with a view to procure a voluntary and permanent contribution from the several colonies towards the general expences of the empire: thus the privilege of judging for themselves of the expediency, of fixing the amount, and determining the application of the grants was to be restored to the assemblies: the compulsory threat in lord North's plan was left out: the objection to the raising of a revenue without consent of parliament was removed, as the requisition would be made at their express desire: and, in order to secure the acquiescence of the colonists, Mr. Hartley insisted on the necessity of at least suspending what he called "the three vindictive American acts," as the house had already declared against the repeal of them. His motions on those different heads were negatived without a division. Both Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley renewed their attempts almost as soon as another session afforded them the opportunity. The former having, on the sixteenth of November, presented a petition from some clothiers in Wiltshire deprecating the horrors of a civil war, and conjuring the house to adopt lenient measures, said "he wished that the prayer of the petition should be considered as an exordium to the business which he was going to propose,"—a plan for procuring peace by concession. He considered parliament, not as the *representative*, but as the *sovereign* of America; and, in conformity to that idea, he proposed to quiet the present troubles in the same manner that the ancient disputes between the crown and the people on the subject of taxation were terminated in the reign of Edward I. The kings of England, he observed, had been, before that time, in the practice of levying taxes upon the people by their own authority: they justified that practice upon the very same principles, and with the same arguments as those now used to support the right of parliament in taxing the Americans: they contended that the crown being charged with the

public

public defence, muſt be furniſhed alſo with the means of providing for it; and that it would be abſurd to commit a truſt into the hands of one perſon, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another: yet the force of theſe arguments and the allurements of the claim did not prevent one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of the Engliſh monarchs from making a clear and abſolute ſurrender of it in the famous ſtatute "*de tallagio non concedendo*," which laid the foundation of unity and happineſs in his kingdom, and, in all human probability, was the means of preſerving the other branches of the royal prerogative inviolate: that ſtatute, which wiſely made no mention of any former right, conſiſted of three principal parts, a ſimple renunciation of taxing; a repeal of all laws which had been made upon a contrary principle; and a general pardon: taking therefore the ſpirit of an act ſo ſalutary in its operations, for his guide, and ſuppoſing Great Britain to ſtand in the place of the ſovereign, and America in that of the ſubject, Mr. Burke made a *renunciation* of the *exerciſe* of taxation, without at all interfering in the queſtion of *right*, the firſt great object of his preſent bill: it retained, at the ſame time, the power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce; but the money ſo raiſed was to be at the diſpoſal of the general aſſemblies: it inveſted the crown with authority to convene, when neceſſary, meetings of deputies from the ſeveral colonies; and their acts were to be binding upon all: the duty act of the year 1767, with the late coercive and penal laws, were to be repealed: a general amneſty was to be granted, upon the Americans laying down their arms within a given time; and all future revenues were to be free aids from the ſubjects there as well as here. Though the bill was rejected by 210 voices, againſt 105 in its favor, yet Mr. Burke had ſome cauſe to exult, that this was the higheſt proportion in numbers which the oppoſition had hitherto borne to the majority. Mr. Hartley had not any conſolation of that ſort on the failure of his ſecond attempt. The principal heads of the new plan, which he ſubmitted to the

houſe on the ſeventh of December, were an addreſs to his majeſty for ſuſpending hoſtilities; a reſtoration of the right of electing an aſſembly and council to the colony of Maſſachuſet's Bay; a bill entitling every ſlave in North America to a trial by jury in criminal caſes, annulling any provincial laws repugnant thereto, and to be regiſtered by the reſpective aſſemblies of all the colonies as a teſt of their ſubmiſſion to the ſupreme legiſlature; this proof of their obedience, without any invidious recognition in expreſs words, to be followed by a repeal of all the obnoxious laws ſince the year 1763, and a general indemnity. The whole concluded with a repetition of his former propoſal to reinſtate the commons of America in the privilege of freely granting ſuch ſupplies as might be neceſſary for government and defence, and which were to be demanded in the accuſtomed manner by letters of requiſition to the ſeveral provinces. The main ſubject having already been frequently and fully diſcuſſed, the debate now was very ſhort; and the queſtion being put on the firſt of Mr. Hartley's reſolutions, it was rejected by a majority of 123 to 21; and the reſt received a negative without any diviſion. That gentleman had little reaſon to flatter himſelf with any hopes of better ſucceſs. He did not act in concert with the great body of the oppoſition: the ſenſe of a conſiderable majority of the houſe had often been declared againſt the principles on which his whole ſyſtem of pacification was founded: and, but two days before, they had given the moſt deciſive aſſent to lord North's plan, which ſeemed to preclude any farther propoſals, at leaſt till its inefficacy ſhould be proved by actual experiment. This conſideration, however, did not prevent the duke of Grafton from bringing forward, after the Chriſtmas receſs, what might be called the ultimatum of the minority on this ſubject. He ſeemed to adopt their opinion, that the conciliatory clauſe in the miniſter's bill held out a deluſive ſhew of peace, without furniſhing any means, or containing any powers, by which that object could be attained. He therefore moved "that an humble ad-

'diefs be prefented to his majefty, befeeching him, that in order to prevent the farther effufion of blood, and to manifeft how defirous the king of Great Britain and his parliament are to reftore peace to all parts of the dominions of his majefty's crown, and how earneftly they wifh to redrefs any real grievances of his majefty's fubjects, his majefty would be gracioufly pleafed to iffue a proclamation, declaring, that if the colonies within a reafonable time before or after the arrival of the troops deftined for America, fhall prefent a petition to the commander in chief, or to the commiffioner or commiffioners to be appointed under the act for preventing all trade and intercourfe with the feveral colonies therein fpecified, fetting forth in fuch petition, which is to be tranfmitted to his majefty, what they confider to be their juft rights and real grievances; that, in fuch cafe, his majefty will confent to a fufpenfion of arms; and that his majefty has authority from his parliament to affure them, that fuch their petition fhall be received, confidered, and anfwered."—Befides the general arguments in favor of peace, which had been too often repeated to admit of any novelty, the duke fpecified two circumftances, which he thought rendered a compliance with the motion, or the adoption of fome equivalent fubftitute, at this time abfolutely neceffary. The firft was "the new doctrine of *unconditional* fubmiffion, which had been broached," his grace faid, "in the other houfe," and which he believed would have the worft effects on the minds of the Americans: the fecond was a piece of intelligence, which he looked upon as a fubject of great and juft alarm, "that two French gentlemen, towards the clofe of the laft fummer, went to America, and held a conference with general Wafhington at the provincial camp, who referred them to the continental congrefs, whither they immediately repaired."—Little ftrefs was laid by the lords in adminiftration on either of thofe circumftances. They contended that the power of granting pardons was competent to every juft and requifite purpofe; and that the fubmiffion expected from the colonies was the only thing

that could lay a lasting basis for the future security of the constitutional rights of that country, the supreme legislative controuling authority of this, and the general interests of the whole empire. With regard to the information of two gentlemen having visited Cambridge, the head quarters of the provincial army, and having afterwards gone to Philadelphia, they might either have been travellers on a tour of curiosity, or merchants who went to negotiate matters in the way of trade on their own private account. The duke's motion was rejected by a majority of 91 to 31.* It would be easy, at the present period, to amuse superficial minds with conjectures on the probable consequences of those schemes, had they been adopted. Their presumed success might be heightened by the ultimate failure of the measures which government pursued, and the accomplishment of the warnings then given to administration by the minority. Many of their prophecies were, indeed, fulfilled: the colonies persevered in their resistance: foreign powers took a part in their favor: and the mother country, after a long and expensive struggle, was obliged to relinquish her claims of sovereignty. But may it not also be affirmed, with the strictest truth, that the language and conduct of the opposition, both in and out of parliament, were

* Mr. Sawbridge made a weak attempt of the conciliatory kind towards the close of the session; but it could not strictly be noticed in the above detail of distinct plans proposed by the minority, as it wanted the merit of both novelty and ingenuity, being merely an application of the principle laid down in Mr. Burke's first bill. Its object was to have the colonies placed on the same footing as Ireland, with respect to giving and granting their money by their own representatives. The motion was weakly supported in point of numbers as well as argument. Nothing prevented the debate on so trite a subject from languishing into perfect dulness, but some of T. Luttrell's eccentricities, and a few enlivening flashes of R. Rigby's wit. When the house divided, Mr. Sawbridge was left in a minority of 33 against 115.

among the principal caufes of the rebellion and inflexible obftinacy of the Americans, and urged them to perform what the minority had predicted? Muft not their continual reprefentations of the weak, the exhaufted, the defenceleſs ftate of Great Britain have operated as a ftrong temptation to her old, revengeful enemies, to join in a confpiracy for her ruin, though the ftep they took was repugnant to every dictate not only of honour, but of real intereft and found policy? If France and Spain had not afforded fuch a proof of their narrow views and almoft frantic infatuation, it would have been deemed impoffible for them, or any power poffeffing colonies of its own, ever to think of fomenting and invigorating the fpirit of revolt in thofe of another nation. It fhould alfo be remembered, that fome of the moft alarming predictions of the minority, thofe upon which the whole fuperftructure of their oppofition was raifed, proved to be fallacious.— They boldly afferted, that eternal enmity would be the confequence of the ftruggle, and that the moment the Americans fhould eftablifh their independency, Britain's fun muft fet, and the glory of the empire pafs away for ever. The very reverfe took place at the end of the war: the colonifts became more ftrongly attached by their wants to the mother country, than they had ever before been by the ties of pretended affection, allegiance, or gratitude: Britain's fun, fo far from fetting, foon emerged from behind the clouds with which it had been obfcured: and the glory of the empire was certainly rather increafed than diminifhed by fo unparalleled a conteft with the combined powers of France, Spain, Holland, and America. But thefe truths will be better illuftrated in the fucceffive detail of events.

XXIX. The firft affair of any moment which the minifter laid before parliament after the holidays, was the confideration of fome treaties entered into by his majefty with the duke of Brunfwick, the landgrave of Heffe Caffel, and the count of Hanau, for hiring about feventeen thoufand of their troops for the American fervice. Lord North's motion (Feb. 29) for referring copies of

thefe

these treaties to the committee of supply occasioned a long and warm debate, in which the opposition contended that nothing could be more disgraceful to Great Britain, than to be obliged to apply to the petty princes of Germany for succours to enable her to subdue her own subjects.—The danger of the measure, the expence attending the troops, and the little probability of their success were also insisted upon. With regard to the expence in particular, it was said, that the German princes had set no bounds to their extortions: they were to have levy-money at the rate of above seven pounds a man: the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march: the princes had even the modesty to demand a double subsidy, which, in one instance, was to be continued for two years, and, in another, for one year after the return of the troops to their respective countries. The ministry, in reply, entered very fully into the propriety, the policy, and the urgency of the measure: they shewed that the terms were substantially the same as those of former treaties, by which Great Britain had obtained foreign troops for purposes of infinitely less national importance than the present: they thought that the suddenness of the requisition, with the novelty, distance, length of sea voyage, and other disagreeable circumstances attending this service, would have warranted much higher demands: they maintained, that even supposing such a number of forces could have been speedily raised at home, it could not be expected that raw and undisciplined troops, who had never seen any service, and who were not yet hardened to any change of food, climate, or habits of life, could answer the purpose so well as tried veterans, whose constitutional and military habits were already formed: to these arguments was added not only the inconvenience, but the great loss of withdrawing so many useful hands from husbandry and manufactures; and it was farther observed, that the expence in that case would not end with the war, but that the nation would be saddled with the heavy and lasting incumbrance of the half-pay establishment of near thirty battalions: so that, in every point of view, those treaties

would

would be found equally prudent and neceſſary. The debate continued till two o'clock next morning, when the queſtion being put on the miniſter's motion, it was carried by a majority of 242 to 88. The ſubject was again agitated on receiving the report from the committee of ſupply on the fourth of March; and with ſtill greater vehemence next day in the houſe of lords, where the duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs, of conſiderable length, to his majeſty, which, beſides ſeveral obſervations relative to the treaties, took in a comprehenſive view of the ſituation of American affairs, and the conſequences of a perſeverance in the preſent meaſures, all tending to give weight to a requeſt, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to countermand the march of thoſe foreign troops, and likewiſe give directions for an immediate ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the contending parts of the empire. The diviſion in this houſe was no leſs in favour of the miniſters than that in the commons, the duke's motion being rejected by a majority of 100 to 32. It was attended with a proteſt in an unuſual form, which only reciting the terms of the propoſed addreſs, concluded with the ſignatures of ten of the minority to a ſilent diſſent.

XXX. A very curious motion, which the attorney general called *a party ſquib*, had been made ſome days before in the lower houſe by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, founded on a meſſage lately ſent to the parliament of Ireland by the lord lieutenant, requeſting in the king's name four thouſand troops from the uſual eſtabliſhment in that country, for the American ſervice, and engaging that Ireland ſhould be relieved from the expence of maintaining them during their abſence, with a propoſal, that for the ſecurity and protection of that kingdom, it was his majeſty's intention, if deſired by parliament, to replace ſuch forces by an equal number of foreign proteſtant troops, the charge of which ſhould be alſo defrayed without any incumbrance on Ireland. Mr. Townſhend and his party affirmed that the deſign of introducing foreign

troops

troops into Ireland was fraught with danger and mischief; that it was the highest presumption in the lord lieutenant to engage for the payment of any specific sums by the parliament of Great Britain: and that his temerity could only be equalled by his folly in proposing to defray the expence of eight thousand men for the service of four thousand. They concurred therefore in strenuously supporting a motion, "that the earl of Harcourt was herein chargeable with a breach of privilege, and had acted in derogation of the authority of the British house of commons; and that a committee be appointed to inquire into the same." It was stated, on the other hand, that the lord lieutenant's message had a very proper reference to a promise made by the king to the Irish parliament in 1769, when the military establishment was raised from twelve to fifteen thousand men, "that there never should be less than twelve thousand in Ireland, except in case of actual invasion or rebellion in Great Britain." Now, as the present want of troops was not within those exceptions, it certainly was his majesty's first business to be absolved from that promise by the parties to whom it was made; but if he had applied first to the commons of Great Britain, it must have been for their approbation of a measure in direct breach of his promise to Ireland. So much for the propriety of the message, which was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official usage, while the measure itself was in exact conformity to that ancient and acknowledged prerogative, by which the crown, upon any emergency, raised troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for the payment, or entered into treaties for the same purpose with foreign princes, and pledged the national faith for a due performance of the articles. It was admitted, that the offer to pay for eight thousand men, in return for the service of only four thousand, if that was really meant in the lord lieutenant's message, did not appear to be very œconomical: yet, if the men could not be obtained upon better terms, the measure was defensible on the ground of necessity; and if there were also sufficient reasons for thinking it better

to

to ſend natives than foreigners to America, the offer could require no farther juſtification. In any caſe, even ſuppoſing lord Harcourt to have been miſtaken, to have exceeded his inſtructions, or not to have conveyed his meaning in the cleareſt terms, the Britiſh miniſtry were neither bound by, nor accountable for, the contents of his meſſage to the parliament of another kingdom. Beſides, the Iriſh houſe of commons had cheartfully aſſented to the requiſition of four thouſand troops, without putting Great Britain to the expence of replacing them; ſo that, in fact, no object of cenſure remained except a very diſputable, and merely imputed ill intention. The motion for a committee to inquire into the matter of the ſaid complaint was therefore rejected by a majority of 224 to 106; and ſome other motions for laying the votes of the Iriſh parliament, relative to this buſineſs, before the houſe, and for paſſing a cenſure on the lord lieutenant's conduct, were negatived without a diviſion.

XXXI. Among the various eſtimates and accounts which were referred to the committee of ſupply, none was attacked by the oppoſition with ſuch unqualified aſperity as that for defraying extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices incurred between the ninth of March, 1775, and the thirty-firſt of January, 1776, which amounted to ſomething more than eight hundred and forty-five thouſand pounds. Colonel Barré and Mr. Burke exerted all the powers of their eloquence, all the force of their wit and ridicule, in contraſting the moſt brilliant campaigns in Engliſh hiſtory with the exploits of the army at Boſton: Marlborough's victories in the year 1704, and the conqueſt of Canada in 1760, were painted in glowing colours: Blenheim and the Heights of Abraham were oppoſed to Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and the river Myſtic was ludicrouſly placed in the ſame view with the Rhine and the Danube: the ſalvation of the German empire, the ruin of an ambitious power which had been for half a century the ſcourge and terror of Europe, the ſecurity and enlargement of the Britiſh dominions in North America had

had not, it was alledged, in any degree equalled the expences of the last campaign: both speakers concluded their respective harangues, in which they had travelled far out of their way in search of irritating illustrations, with high panegyrics on general Montgomery, the account of whose death had arrived a few days before*. Never, perhaps, was so much ingenuity blended with so little candour. After this parade of oratory, there were only two simple questions arising on the whole subject, whether the money had been properly applied? and whether the measures that induced the expenditure were necessary? As a proof of the first, the requisitions of the commander in chief were immediately produced, which were in due time to be followed by proper vouchers for every article; and parliament had already given its repeated sanction to the second. As to the little progress made in the first campaign, it chiefly originated from having entertained too good an opinion of the Americans: it was never imagined that the other colonies could be wicked enough to unite with the Massachuset's Bay in rebellion, nor consequently able to form the blockade of Boston, and prevent the supply which the abundance of that country yielded. So unexpected a combination had not only occasioned delay in order to prepare for more vigorous measures, but had also rendered it necessary to send all the provisions for the British army from Europe; which was the immediate cause of those extraordinary expences. In reply to the praises so lavishly bestowed on general Montgomery, lord North admitted that he was brave, he was able, he was humane, he was generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel; so that one might almost apply to him that line in the tragedy of Cato—"Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country."—In the first division, the numbers were 180 in favour of the minister against 57; and the house did not divide in any of the subsequent debates on the same subject.†

XXXII.

* See page 24.

† The whole supplies for the service of the current year,

XXXII. A bill for the establishment of a militia in Scotland had been brought in before the holidays by lord Mountstuart; but from the neglect of attendance which prevailed for some time, and from his lordship's desire of having the subject discussed in full houses, it hung over during the greater part of the session. The grounds, on which he defended the measure, were very plausible. He said, that a militia was the great constitutional bulwark of the kingdom; and that no good reason could be assigned for excluding any part of the island from contributing to the general security: yet the people of England were trained to the use of arms, while Scotland was left weak and defenceless: the retaining of such an invidious distinction served only to keep alive ancient jealousies, and to nourish odious prejudices and malignities. But the grand objection to the plan was, that five sixths of the expence to be incurred by such an

year, including also the above extras and the deficiencies of the last year, amounted to very near nine million, one hundred thousand pounds: the ways and means resolved upon in the committee, consisting of the malt duty, the land tax which was raised from three to four shillings in the pound, exchequer bills, and the produce of the sinking fund, with some smaller resources, were calculated at little more than seven million, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds: in order to make up the deficiency between the grants and the supplies, and to afford an overplus of a few thousands, a loan of two millions was necessary, the interest of which was provided for by a tax of twenty shillings each on gentlemen's four-wheeled carriages, a tax of five pounds each on stage coaches, an additional stamp of one shilling on deeds, an additional halfpenny on newspapers, another sixpenny stamp on cards, and a half crown stamp on dice: a vote of credit for one million was also passed to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences that might be incurred on account of military service, and to make good the charges of calling in the remainder of the light gold coin.

eſtabliſhment muſt be paid by Engliſh land-owners, as the militia were directly maintained out of the land-tax, of which Scotland paid a very inconſiderable proportion. The advocates for the bill replied, that the land-tax was no fair criterion of what Scotland really contributed towards the common ſupport; for her conſumption of Engliſh manufactures, and of foreign commodities which paid duties here, was very conſiderable, and one half of the produce of the lands of that country was ſaid to be expended in this. Though the views of the oppoſition avowedly extended from the beginning to the rejection of the whole plan, yet frequent amendments were propoſed, and new clauſes continually offered; ſo that it afforded a very conſiderable fund of debate in every ſtage of its progreſs: the diviſions ran very cloſe; and, upon the day appointed for receiving the report from the committee after the ſecond reading, (March 20.) it was thrown out by a majority of only 112 to 95, the miniſter, who voted for the bill, being on this occaſion left in a minority.

XXXIII. In the midſt of ſo many concerns of the utmoſt national importance, no ſmall part of the time and attention of the houſe of lords was taken up by the trial of the celebrated dutcheſs of Kingſton. This lady, whoſe maiden name was Chudleigh, had in the year 1744 been privately married to a Mr. Hervey, then a lieutenant in the navy, but who afterwards ſucceeded to the title of earl of Briſtol, his elder brother dying without iſſue. Her conduct being by no means calculated to ſecure the continuance of that affection which her perſonal charms had inſpired, Mr. Hervey cauſed propoſals to be made to her reſpecting a divorce; and as ſoon as the offers appeared ſufficiently inviting, ſhe inſtituted a jactitation ſuit in the commons againſt him, and in conſequence of her making oath that ſhe was not married, which ſhe told her private friends "ſhe could eaſily reconcile to her conſcience, as the ceremony was a ſcrambling, ſhabby buſineſs," ſhe obtained a ſentence declaring her free from all matrimonial engagements.

She

She did not, of courſe, heſitate to accept the duke of Kingſton's hand in the year 1769; but on the death of his grace in 1773, lady Meadows, his ſiſter and heir at law, filed a bill in chancery againſt the ſelf-ſtiled dutcheſs, who pleaded the ſentence of the eccleſiaſtical court, the validity of which was allowed by the lord chancellor; though another bill was ſoon after inſtituted, to prove that the ſentence had been obtained by colluſion between the parties. A criminal proſecution was alſo commenced; and a bill of indictment for a ſecond marriage during the life of her firſt huſband having been found againſt her by the grand jury for Middleſex, the matter was removed from the court of King's Bench to the houſe of lords in the beginning of November. The ſettlement of the time, place, and forms to be obſerved at the trial, gave riſe to a variety of debates, in which lord Mansfield made ſome unavailing efforts to have her tried in the chamber of parliament, being of opinion that the more privately the trial was conducted, the more conſiſtent it would be with juſtice and prudence. His moſt ſpecious arguments were drawn from the poſſible iſſue of the proceeding, whether favourable or the contrary: "the eccleſiaſtical ſentence," ſaid he, "which remains in full force to this hour, will be exhibited in the lady's defence, and perhaps, put a ſtop to the trial: but admitting that not to be the caſe, ſuppoſe the lady found guilty,—it is a *clergyable* offence, and there is an expreſs ſtatute which will not permit peers to ſuffer corporal puniſhment for any thing under a capital crime: the lady then pleads her peerage, makes your lordſhips a curtſey, and you return the compliment with a bow."—He did not think, therefore, that a trial, which, even on conviction of the priſoner, could not be productive of ſerious or important conſequences, and could not operate, by way of example or terror, on the public at large, ought to be carried on with any particular and expenſive ſolemnity. The lords at firſt agreed, that the lady ſhould be tried "at the bar of their houſe;" but after ſeveral ſubſequent diſcuſſions of the ſame ſubject, the words "in Weſtminſter Hall"

G 2 were

were added, as the latter place, or any other, in which the lords might sit, was to be deemed *their house.*' The majority concurred in sentiment, that the offence, though clergyable, being of the most atrocious nature, immediately tending to dissolve the great bonds of civil society, and coupled with every aggravating circumstance of fraud, collusion, and perjury, the trial ought to be conducted in the most public manner, and with every possible solemnity the house could give it;—that the mortifications of guilt must be increased before so great, respectable, and numerous an auditory, as would be assembled on the occasion in Westminster-hall;—that it would be no small degree of punishment to the lady, if convicted, to be asked by the lord high steward, after informing her of the judgment of her peers, whether she had ever before been admitted to her clergy, and on her answering in the negative, t be told that the just infliction of *burning in the hand* was now remitted on account of her rank, but that if she should ever again be guilty of a clergyable offence, she would be liable to suffer, as a common felon, the pains and penalties of death;—and lastly, that the proposed solemnities and notoriety of the proceeding would have the best effect on the great body of the people, by teaching them that the highest are not exempt from prosecution for misdeeds, and by convincing them, that as the laws of their country are their common security, so they are the common avenger of every species of guilt and injustice, be the rank or fortune of the offenders what it may. The eighteenth of December had been fixed upon for the commencement of the trial; but it was first put off till the latter end of January, at the prayer of the dutchess, whose bad state of health rendered her unable to attend; and after some farther delays on account of the intervening law term, which prevented the scaffolding from being erected in due time in Westminster hall, the order for the trial was finally altered to Monday the fifteenth of April. It took up four days in that week, and was not decided till the Monday following. In the course of the examination of witnesses, the most

moſt indiſputable proofs appeared of the lady's guilt, and of the very improper means by which ſhe had obtained the ſentence of the eccleſiaſtical court to give a ſeeming ſanction to her crimes. On being informed by the high ſteward, that the lords had by their ſuffrages pronounced her guilty, ſhe claimed her privilege of peerage, which, after ſome oppoſition on the part of the attorney general, who contended that it did not extend to peereſſes, and ſome debate among the lords, was allowed, and conſequently exempted her from corporal puniſhment. So far the iſſue of the trial correſponded with lord Mansfield's remarks: but he was miſtaken in his conjecture, that the exhibiting of the eccleſiaſtical ſentence in the firſt ſtage of the buſineſs might put a ſtop to any further proceedings. The opinion of the judges on that point was taken, the ſecond day of the trial. The queſtions propoſed to them were, "whether a ſentence of the eccleſiaſtical court againſt a marriage in a jactitation ſuit is concluſive evidence, ſo as to ſtop the crown from proving the ſaid marriage on an indictment for polygamy?" and, "whether, admitting ſuch ſentence to be concluſive upon ſuch indictment, the crown may be admitted to avoid its effect, by proving the ſame to have been obtained by fraud or colluſion?"—The firſt queſtion was anſwered in the negative, becauſe no civil ſentence whatever can prevent a proſecution on an indictment in which the crown is the proſecutor; and the ſecond was anſwered in the affirmative, becauſe it was neceſſarily included in the firſt, and becauſe no fraudulent act of any two parties can be binding or concluſive on a third, without their participation or conſent even in a civil caſe, much leſs in a matter in which the general juſtice of the nation and execution of the laws are concerned. However favorable to the contrary doctrine lord Mansfield's former language may ſeem, it ſhould be remembered that he was not then ſpeaking in his judicial capacity, but rather in the character of the accuſed lady's advocate.

XXXIV. This trial was one of the chief cauſes of ſuſpending an inquiry, the firſt ſtep towards which had

been taken by lord Effingham on the twenty seventh of March. It related to an abuse of a particular clause in the prohibitory act, which enabled the admiralty to grant licences to vessels for conveying stores and provisions to the forces upon the American service. Some artful adventurers, availing themselves of the loose terms in which those licences were at first worded, and of the seeming disinclination of the commissioners of the customs to interfere much in the business, had shipped off a quantity of prohibited goods for the American market, and endeavoured to establish an illicit commerce under the sanction of that bill, though utterly subversive of one of its principal objects. A violent clamour was raised in the city on this occasion: it was represented as extremely grievous to the great body of American merchants, who had already suffered by the troubles, and who, in obedience to the late act, were sinking under the encumbrance of goods which they had purchased for America, and for which they could find no other market, to see the trade they had long conducted with reputation and fairness, smuggled out of their hands by a set of obscure and fraudulent individuals. As almost every subject of either public or private complaint was now made a party affair, the whole blame was thrown upon the connivance of government; and the Earl of Effingham, a little before the recess at Easter, made a motion which was agreed to, that lists of such vessels with their cargoes, as had been cleared out of the port of London for America, and of such licences as had been granted by the admiralty, should be laid before the house. The holidays and the dutchess of Kingston's trial, or perhaps a just sense of having too rashly entered upon the matter, prevented his lordship from pursuing it with immediate earnestness; but it was taken up in the house of commons by Mr. Sawbridge (then lord mayor of London) who, on the second of May, moved for a committee to inquire into the whole transaction. The motion being accompanied with strong insinuations that the ministry had secretly encouraged a system of the most iniquitous and corrupt jobbing

ing, and that nothing lefs was aimed at than to transfer the trade of America from its wonted channels, and to turn it into a complete monopoly, lord North did not oppofe the inquiry, though he thought it frivolous and unfeafonable, efpecially as the abufes complained of were already corrected, and a ftop put to the mifchief. Accordingly the eight of May was appointed for a committee of the whole houfe to take the matter into confideration. Several witneffes were examined, and a variety of arguments raifed on the nature of the evidence. It appeared very clearly, that the licences fo much complained of had been granted indifcriminately to all who applied for them, without any preference or partiality whatever, and as indifcriminately called in, when it was difcovered that an improper ufe had been made of them. Out of nine fhips, for which the licences had been obtained, only three had failed, and one of thefe was an hofpital fhip: the cargoes of the other fix were re-landed. The quantity of goods fraudulently exported could not, therefore, be very confiderable; and if fuch evafions of the law could be called jobs, they were the jobs of a few individuals, neither fyftematically connected with each other, nor with adminiftration. Lord North acquitted himfelf very honourably on this occafion: he fat out the whole night: he anfwered every plaufible objection that was ftarted: he examined clofely fuch of the perfons as feemed to come into the bufinefs with alacrity, on purpofe to give it a confequence it did not deferve: and, on the fulleft and moft impartial inveftigation, after fitting on the inquiry till five o'clock in the morning, the houfe difmiffed the matter as equally nugatory and ill-founded. Yet, in a few days after, lord Effingham revived it in the upper houfe, by moving for the neceffary papers, in order to profecute the inquiry in the enfuing feffion. A motion of this kind, brought forward juft at the eve of the rifing of parliament, and accompanied with an artful fhew of proof, which the fhortnefs of the time rendered it impoffible fully to examine and refute, did his lordfhip very little honour. It feemed not only unfair but malignant

malignant to asperse the character of the ministry, and leave them to suffer under foul imputations, till they should have an opportunity, perhaps at the end of several months, of manifesting their innocence. They complied, however, with the motion, to prevent an opinion from prevailing without doors, that they had the least wish to stifle all farther inquiry.

XXXV. The public business being all carried through, the king went to the house of lords on the twenty-third of May, to give his assent to a few bills prepared for that purpose, and to close the session. Among the bills then presented to his majesty, were one to alter the mode of punishment of felons, sentenced for transportation, to hard labour in England; and a new insolvent act, the most remarkable condition in which was, that all future acquisitions of real property or money in the funds, which should be made by any of the debtors who availed themselves of this act, were subjected to the claims of their several creditors: but, as they were to surrender up all their present property, on oath, their persons, and such personal effects as they might afterwards acquire, were to be for ever free from all demands on account of debts contracted before the twenty-second of the preceding January. After passing the bills, his majesty said he could not put an end to the session, without assuring both houses, that the fresh instances of their affectionate attachment to him, and of their steady attention and adherence to the true interests of their country, afforded him the highest satisfaction: it was with pleasure he informed them, that the assurances he had received of the disposition of the several powers in Europe, promised a continuance of the general tranquillity: he expressed real concern and regret, at having found it necessary to ask of his faithful commons any extraordinary supplies: he thanked them for the readiness and dispatch with which they had been granted, and which were the more acceptable to him, as parliament had shewn in the manner of raising them, an equal regard to the exigencies of the service, and the ease of his people:

alter

after promifing proper frugality in the application of thofe grants to the purpofes only for which they were intended, his majefty concluded thus :

" My lords and gentlemen,

" We are engaged in a great national caufe, the profecution of which muft inevitably be attended with many difficulties and much expence: but when we confider, that the effential rights and interefts of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the iffue of it, and can have no fafety or fecurity but in that conftitutional fubordination for which we are contending, I am convinced that you will not think any price too high for the prefervation of fuch objects.

" I will ftill entertain a hope that my rebellious fubjects may be awakened to a fenfe of their errors, and that, by a voluntary return to their duty, they will juftify me in bringing about the favorite wifh of my heart, the reftoration of harmony and the re-eftablifhment of order and happinefs in every part of my dominions. But if a due fubmiffion fhould not be obtained from fuch motives and fuch difpofitions on their part, I truft that I fhall be able, under the bleffing of Providence, to effectuate it by a full exertion of the great force with which you have entrufted me."

C H A P. II.

I. *Sketch of the Plan and various Objects of the Campaign of* 1776. II. *Circumftances which accelerated the Evacuation of Bofton.* III. *Arnold's Army, after a defperate and concluding Effort, driven with Precipitation and Lofs from before Quebec.* IV. *General Carlton's vigorous Purfuit of the Fugitives; and his Humanity towards the Sick and Wounded.* V. *Affair at the Cedars; with an Inftance of a flagrant Breach of Faith on the Part of the Congrefs.* VI. *The Rebels repulfed at Trois Rivieres.* VII. *Montreal, Chamblée, and St. John's retaken.* VIII. *Complete Victory obtained over the American Fleet on Lake Champlain.* IX. *Fatal Delay of the Expedition againft the fouthern Colonies.* X. *Particulars of the unfuccefsful Attack on Sullivan's Ifland near Charleftown.*

Charlestown. XI. *General Howe lands at Staten Island, where he is soon joined by his Brother with a powerful Armament.* XII. *Circular Manifesto of the Congress, followed by the Declaration of Independency.*— XIII. *Efforts used by Lord Howe to bring about an Accommodation, previous to the Commencement of Hostilities.* XIV. *Descent on Long Island, and Defeat of the American Army at Brooklyn.* XV. *Effects of General Howe's dilatory Caution, with some Strictures on his extraordinary Tenderness, and his "regular Approaches."* XVI. *Conference between Lord Howe and a Committee of the Congress.* XVII. *Washington abandons New York.*— XVIII. *Rapid Successes of the British Army.* XIX. *General Lee taken by Colonel Harcourt.* XX. *Rhode Island reduced on the very Day of General Washington's Retreat over the Delaware.* XXI. *Other decisive Advantages prevented by the Supineness or Fatuity of the British Commander in Chief.* XXII. *Three Regiments of Hessians surprised and taken Prisoners at Trenton.*— XXIII. *This Stroke of Success, critically favourable to the Republican cause.* XXIV. *Lord Cornwallis out-manœuvred by Washington—Situation of both Armies in the Jerseys at the Close of the Campaign.*

I. IN the midst of those vexatious contests, which the ministry had to maintain against all the shifting parties of the opposition, it was necessary to display the utmost wisdom and vigour of the executive power in giving full effect to the measures which had received the sanction of the legislature. With this view, the plan of the ensuing campaign was formed on a very comprehensive scale, divided into three parts, corresponding with the three great divisions of the American provinces. The object of the first was the removal of the troops from Boston to New York, where they were to be joined by considerable reinforcements from England, to make a grand effort in the middle colonies: the second enterprise was directed to the southward, in order to call off the attention of the malecontents there from the support of the common cause to their own defence; and, at the

same

ſame time, to afford proper aſſiſtance, encouragement, and ſecurity to ſuch as were well affected to the mother country, but had been hitherto reſtrained by ſurrounding danger and the inſufficiency of their own ſtrength from declaring againſt the rebels: and the third expedition was to be undertaken in Canada, to expel the enemy from that province, to clear its frontiers, to open a communication with the northern and middle colonies, and to co-operate with the deſigns of the central army. As the force deſtined for each of theſe purpoſes was deemed fully adequate to its execution, they were entered upon with the faireſt proſpect of ſpeedily terminating the war, though the event did not afterwards correſpond with ſuch reaſonable expectations. The cauſes of their failure will naturally be unfolded in the details of their progreſs and final iſſue.

II. Though Waſhington and Lee had joined the beſieging army before Boſton ſoon after the battle of Bunker's Hill, nothing of any conſequence was attempted by them for the remainder of the year. But as the garriſon were kept in a ſtate of perpetual vigilance, if not of alarm, they ſuffered conſiderably during ſo long a blockade from hard duty, confinement, and ſcarcity of proviſions, a great proportion of the ſupplies ſent from England having been intercepted by American cruiſers. In conſequence of general Gage's departure for Europe, the chief command of the Britiſh forces devolved on general Howe, to whom orders had alſo been ſent at the approach of winter to leave Boſton whenever he found it convenient or adviſeable. But having at that time prepared his winter quarters, and the ſeaſon being alſo unfavourable to a coaſting voyage, he thought he might continue there till the ſpring in perfect ſafety from any new endeavours of the enemy. He ſoon experienced a mortifying diſappointment. General Waſhington apprehenſive that the garriſon might be ſtrengthened by freſh ſuccours in the ſpring, and foreſeeing that his own army would be wanted elſewhere to oppoſe impending dangers, began to proſecute

the

the ſiege with redoubled vigour about the end of February, in hopes of becoming maſter of the place before the arrival of any reinforcements from the mother country. The renewal of his attempts was very much forwarded by the capture of an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, which unfortunately ſeparated from her convoy, and being herſelf of no force, was taken without defence by a ſmall privateer. This veſſel contained, beſides a large mortar upon a new conſtruction,* ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a vaſt quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition, with tools, utenſils, and machines for camps and artillery, in the greateſt abundance. Such an acquiſition was of the utmoſt importance to the beſiegers. On the ſecond of March a battery was opened at a place called Phipps's Farm, weſtward of the town, whence it was dreadfully annoyed by a furious diſcharge of cannon and bombs; and on the morning of the fifth another was opened from the heights of Dorcheſter Point on the oppoſite ſide, where two redoubts had been erected in the courſe of the preceding night. The ſituation of the army was now very critical. The new works, along with others which it was evident would be ſpeedily thrown up on ſome of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a conſiderable part of the harbour, and of the beach, whence an embarkation muſt take place in caſe of a retreat, and render the communication between the troops on Boſton Neck and the main body, difficult and dangerous. In theſe circumſtances, no alternative remained but to evacuate the town, or to diſlodge the provincials. The latter deſign was immediately adopted: a violent ſtorm, followed by a deluge of rain, delayed the perilous trial, in the firſt inſtance; and next day it was diſcovered, upon a nearer inſpection, that more works had been conſtructed, ſtill ſtronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now ſo completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It was in fact impoſſible to ap-

* The Duke of Bolton aſſerted in the houſe of lords, that it was this very mortar, which drove the king's troops out of Boſton.

proach them; for in order to do fo, the Englifh muft have afcended an almoft perpendicular eminence, on the top of which the Americans had prepared hogfheads chained together in great numbers, and filled with ftones, to roll down upon the affailants, which muft have deftroyed all order, broken their ranks, and fwept away whole columns at once. Nothing, therefore, remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ftores, on board the fhips that lay in the harbour. This meafure required feveral days to carry it into execution, on account of the numbers to be removed, many of whom were fick and wounded.—At length, however, it was effected; and on the feventeenth of March, the garrifon, with above fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, who were attached to the Britifh caufe, embarked for Halifax in Nova Scotia, to which they had a very favourable paffage. In the hurry of their departure, they left behind them a large quantity of provifions, artillery, and ftores: they had the precaution, however, to blow up and demolifh the fortifications at Caftle William, as thefe would have rendered all future attempts upon the town by fea impracticable: fome fhips of war were alfo ftationed off the harbour to warn and protect any veffels that fhould arrive from England, but they were too few to be perfectly fuccefsful, the great extent of the bay, with all its iflands and creeks, and the number of fmall ports that furround it, affording fuch opportunities to the provincial armed boats and fmall privateers, that they took feveral ftorefhips and tranfp[illegible] ftill ignorance that the town had changed mafters.* As foon

* The moft valuable of the ftore-fhips, loft in this manner, was the Hope, loaded with 1500 barrels of powder, befides carbines, bayonets, travelling carriages for heavy cannon, and all forts of tools. It was the misfortune alfo of lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell, with 700 men, to be on board one of the tranfports which ran directly into Bofton harbour,

 not

as general Washington perceived that it was evacuated, he marched in with all the triumph of victory, and detached several regiments, under the command of general Lee, to the defence of New York, imagining that the British troops might have departed for that place; but the circumstances of the latter did not then admit of their immediately undertaking any expedition.

III. During these transactions at Boston, Arnold remained posted with the remnant of his army on the Heights of Abraham, about three miles from Quebec, whence he could intercept any supplies that might be attempted to be conveyed into the city, and where he hoped to increase his number by succours from the congress, and by ingratiating himself with the Canadians. But the succours were retarded by the almost insupportable hardships of a long march, in a rigorous season, and through a savage country; and with regard to the Canadians, their affections were entirely alienated from the rebel cause, not only by the misfortunes, but the misbehaviour also of the invaders towards them. As the season approached, in which supplies and reinforcements for the garrison were sure to arrive from England, the Americans resolved to make a grand concluding effort, before they should be obliged entirely to abandon the enterprise. They renewed the siege, raised some batteries, and made several attempts, by fire-ships and otherwise, to burn the vessels in the harbour. The project failed, though very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and scaling-ladders, with every other preparation, were in readiness for storming the town, during the distraction which they hoped the fire-ships and batteries would have produced. They even penetrated into the suburbs, where they burned several houses, and compelled the garrison to pull down the rest, in order to prevent the flames from spreading. The judgment, vigilance, and cool intrepidity of general

Carleton

not knowing but it was still in the hands of the British army. That officer was afterwards treated in a very ungenerous and cruel manner by the Americans.

Carleton baffled all their deſigns; and, to increaſe their deſpondency after ſo many unſucceſsful exertions, the ſmall pox, that ſcourge and terror of the weſtern continent, broke out among them, and made its uſual ravages. The dread of the infection, which is conſidered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, rendered it impoſſible to keep up any diſcipline, or to prevent the moſt alarming deſertions. A retreat was therefore reſolved upon; but even this could only be effected with the utmoſt precipitation and loſs, on account of the ſudden appearance of part of the Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of the Iſis man of war and two frigates, which had made their way through the ice, and arrived unexpectedly before Quebec. General Carleton was too well verſed in military affairs to loſe any time in ſeizing the advantages which the preſent ſituation afforded. A detachment of ſoldiers and marines being landed from the ſhipping, and joined to the garriſon, the governor marched out at their head, on the ſixth of May, to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion: they had not even covered themſelves with an intrenchment; and having already begun a retreat, on the appearance of the Britiſh troops they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, and every other article of incumbrance. Some of the light-armed Engliſh ſhips having at the ſame time got up the river, captured ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which they had ſeized in the beginning of the winter. Thus was the mixed ſiege and blockade of Quebec raiſed, after a continuance of about five months; and from this time, the Americans experienced nothing but a ſeries of defeats and misfortunes, till they were driven out of that province, which they had ſo traitorouſly invaded*.

IV. The governor ſhewed himſelf worthy of ſucceſs, by an act which immediately followed it, and which does great honour to his humanity. A number of the ſick and wounded provincials lay ſcattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were

* See page 17.

in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease. To prevent this melancholy consequence, he issued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out these unhappy persons, and to afford them all necessary relief at the public expence; whilst, to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obstinacy or apprehension from marring its effect, he assured them, that as soon as they were recovered, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces. But his generous pity for such helpless objects did not relax his pursuit of the fugitive invaders. The remainder of the expected reinforcements, consisting of several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from general Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, having successively arrived in Canada before the end of the month, he soon adopted the most vigorous measures for the total expulsion of the enemy from that province. He divided his army, for the greater celerity of operation, into different detachments, appointing the general rendezvous at Trois Rivieres, half way between Quebec and Montreal, about ninety miles from each*.

V. Before any of the larger bodies were put in motion, an expedition was undertaken by captain Forster, at the head of a small party of regulars and some Indians, against a place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the westward of Montreal, on the river St. Lawrence. This fort, though naturally strong, and defended by four hundred provincials, did not long resist captain Forster's spirited attack. A heavy fire of musketry having been continued for a few hours, the garrison surrendered on condition of having their lives preserved from the usual ferocity of the Indians. A detachment of the latter had also taken prisoners another party of provincials,

* The town of Trois Rivieres, or Three Rivers, is situated on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged through three mouths into that great reservoir.

who

who were marching from Montreal to the relief of the Cedars, and whose lives were spared through the resolute and conciliating interposition of captain Forster. This brave officer advanced next day to Vaudreuil, about six miles northward of the Cedars, whence Arnold at the head of seven hundred men made an attempt to dislodge him, but was obliged to return to St. Ann's on the island of Montreal. Captain Forster not having yet received any intelligence of general Carlton's arrival at Trois Rivieres, and finding himself much incumbered by the number of his prisoners, judged it expedient to release them in consequence of an agreement signed by Arnold to return an equal number of the king's troops of the same rank within the space of two months, and to send four captains to Quebec as hostages for the performance of the articles. This cartel was afterwards broken by congress, who alledged that captain Forster had conducted himself towards the prisoners taken at the Cedars in a cruel and inhuman manner. What little foundation there was for such a dishonourable pretence, to palliate a flagrant breach of faith, will best appear from the testimony of one of the hostages. "I am surprised," said captain Sullivan in a letter to his brother then a major general in the American service, "to hear that the congress, instead of redeeming us according to the cartel, have not only refused to do it, but have demanded captain Forster to be delivered up to answer his conduct in what they are pleased to term the *massacre* of the Cedars. I would fain flatter myself that the congress would never have thought of such unheard-of proceedings, had they not had a false representation of the matter. I do not think that I am under any restraint when I say, and call that God who must judge of all things to witness, that not a man living could have used more humanity than captain Forster did after the surrender of the party I belonged to; and whoever says to the contrary, let his station in life be what it will, he is an enemy to peace, and a fallacious disturber of mankind. What reason they can give for not redeeming us I cannot conceive; if they are wrongly

informed that the affair of the Cedars was a massacre, why do not they rather fulfil the cartel than let their hostages remain in the hands of a merciless enemy? or do they regard their troops only while the heavens make them victorious?" * * * *

VI. In the mean time the divisions of the British and the Brunswick forces were advancing with all practicable dispatch. A considerable body under the command of brigadier general Frazer had already taken their station at Trois Rivieres: another under that of brigadier general Nesbit lay near them on board some transports: and a third, more numerous than either of the former, along with the generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German commander Reidesel, were on the way from Quebec. At this juncture, the Americans, who had retreated as far as the river Sorrel about fifty miles from Trois Rivieres, and had there been joined by some succours, formed a very daring scheme for the surprise of the troops under general Frazer, with little probability, it must be owned, of success, but deriving courage even from despair. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to major general Thompson, who embarking at Sorrel with two thousand men, and coasting along the south side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with the hope of being able to make a sudden attack before day-break. But general Frazer having received intelligence of their approach, immediately landed a body of troops and some field pieces, and prepared to receive them. General Nesbit, at the same time, posted his detachment in their rear. After a furious, but ineffectual onset, their only resource was flight. Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to the boats, while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven for some miles through a deep swamp, which they travelled with inconceivable toil, and in constant danger. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded the exhausted

enemy

enemy a wished-for shelter. The first and second in command, with about two hundred others, were taken prisoners.

VII. This was the last appearance of vigour shewn by the provincials in Canada. General Carleton having arrived next day (June 9) at Trois Rivieres, the whole army pushed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorrel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place some hours before, dismantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under the command of general Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorrel to St. John's, while the remainder of the army and fleet sailed up the river to Longueil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie on the continent. Here they discovered that the rebels had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to join general Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected that a strong resistance would be made. That general having pursued his march without intermission, arrived at St. John's on the evening of the eighteenth, but found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblée, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they directly embarked for Crown Point.

VIII. The pleasure of having thus driven the rebels out of Canada was still considerably checked by the restraint now laid on the farther operations of the British army. As the enemy were masters of Lake Champlain, it was impossible for the troops to proceed to the southward, until such a number of vessels were constructed or obtained, as would enable them to traverse that lake with safety. The doing this was a work of time and labour; but

but the importance of the object in view called forth every exertion of ingenuity and industry; and in about three months, a fleet of thirty vessels, all carrying cannon, was little less than created, though a few of the largest were re-constructions, having been first framed and sent over from Great Britain. The American fleet, though not inconsiderable, was by no means equal to cope with this force. It is remarkable that the two fleets were commanded by land officers, Carleton and Arnold being equally ambitious to support on a new element the reputation they had acquired by their military skill and conduct. Early on the eleventh of October, the British armament, proceeding up the lake, discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, in a line extending from the island of Valicourt to the western main. A warm action ensued, but did not prove decisive, as the British ships of greatest force were prevented by the unfavourableness of the wind from advancing near enough to take a part in the engagement. Night coming on, Arnold availed himself of its darkness to get away undiscovered, and to save his fleet, if possible, from impending destruction. But being eagerly pursued all the next day, he was overtaken in the morning of the thirteenth within a few leagues of Crown Point. The action was renewed about twelve o'clock, and continued with great fury for two hours. Arnold had lost one of his largest ships and a gondola in the first engagement: such of his vessels as were most a-head now deserted him, and made the best of their way to Ticonderoga: only two gallies and five gondolas remained, with which he continued to make the most desperate resistance. At length the Washington galley, commanded by brigadier general Waterby, having struck, and Arnold finding it impossible to withstand the superiority of force and skill with which he was overborne, he ordered his own galley and the five gondolas to be run on shore, in such a manner as to land his men safely, and to blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort of his adversaries to prevent both. He himself remained on the deck till his ship was actually in flames;

an

and with nice and dangerous attention to the point of honour, he kept his flag flying to the laſt moment.—Crown Point was immediately abandoned by the Americans, and all their force concentrated at Ticonderoga; which being judged too ſtrongly defended to be attacked at this advanced ſeaſon, general Carleton put his troops into winter cantonments in Canada, and general Burgoyne returned to England.

IX. While nothing but the rigours of winter ſeemed capable of retarding the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the north, the expedition to the ſouthward, from which very beneficial conſequences were expected to ariſe, totally failed of effect. It has already been mentioned, that lord William Campbell and Mr. Martin, the governors of the two Carolinas, had found it neceſſary to take ſhelter from the inſurgents on board the king's ſhips lying off the coaſt. They were not, however, without hopes of ſeeing their reſpective provinces ſoon reduced to obedience by the timely exertions of the mother country.—They knew that a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, with a large body of land forces was to be ſent out early to the ſouthern colonies, and that general Clinton, with a ſmall detachment, had left Boſton in December, to meet them at Cape Fear. Mr. Martin in particular omitted no ſcheme which the moſt active zeal and ingenuity could ſuggeſt for ſecuring a number of adherents in the interior parts of the country, to co-operate with the Britiſh forces. He had, by means of his emiſſaries, formed a junction between ſome Scotch emigrants, and a band of reſolute unruly men called *Regulators*, who had long lived in a ſort of ſavage independence, deriving their chief ſuſtenance from the chace. But it being neceſſary to embody all the ſcattered parties of the loyaliſts in the month of January, as the only chance of keeping them ſteady in their intentions, and the force which was to countenance and ſupport them not arriving in time, they were ſurrounded before the end of February by large parties of the provincial troops and militia; moſt of their leaders and ſeveral of their braveſt men were killed or taken

priſoners

prisoners; and the rest were totally dispersed. The British squadron did not arrive for above two months after. This fatal delay was owing to a singular circumstance. The ships of war and transports had been sent round to Cork in the beginning of the winter, to take on board some provisions and the troops destined for the service. But the lord lieutenant of Ireland forming a very unseasonable scruple about the propriety of permitting the troops to embark without leave of the legislature, so much time was lost in getting a clause for that purpose inserted in a bill afterwards passed by the Irish parliament, that the fleet did not sail till the twelfth of February.— Sir Peter Parker went out as commodore, and the land forces were under the orders of lord Cornwallis. After a long voyage of near three months, occasioned by the improper lateness of their departure, all the fleet, except a few ships, reached Cape Fear in North Carolina, on the third of May. General Clinton, who was waiting for them with the utmost anxiety, immediately took the command of the troops, and issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants of the several colonies to return to their allegiance, and to place themselves under the protection of the British government. But the force and spirits of the loyalists were so entirely broken by their late misfortune, that no public avowal of their sentiments nor any farther efforts could be reasonably expected from them, unless they saw the power of the rebels crushed, and the royal standard erected in the heart of the country.

X. General Clinton's orders were to try if any of the southern provinces would take up arms in favor of Great Britain; in which case he was to have left a body of troops to assist the well-affected, and to proceed with the remainder of his forces to New York, by such time as it was probable general Howe would get there from Halifax, to begin the grand operations of the campaign. The late arrival of the fleet from Ireland precluded any slow experiments on the temper of the people; but general Clinton resolved to try the event of an attack on Charlestown, the capture of which might, he hoped, be

be effected within the time allowed by his instructions, and would also make amends for every other disappointment, as the trade carried on from that city was the great support of the funds for giving vigour to rebellion in all the southern colonies. In pursuance of this resolution, the whole fleet set sail for Charlestown the last day of May, and came to anchor off the bar on the fourth of June. Prior to their approach, the city had been put into a strong posture of defence: works were thrown up on Sullivan's Island, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, in a very advantageous situation which commanded the channel of Charlestown harbour: the militia of the province were collected in great numbers for the defence of the metropolis: and Lee, who had carefully watched all general Clinton's motions since his departure from Boston*, was now encamped with a considerable body of forces on the continent, at the back and to the northward of Sullivan's Island with which he held a communication by a bridge of boats. The British troops disembarked on Long Island, a little to the eastward, where they constructed with all possible dispatch two batteries of cannon and mortars to answer those of the enemy, and to co-operate with the floating batteries destined to cover their passage over a small creek that separated the two islands. The works being completed and every thing settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb, covered by the Friendship armed ship, took her station in the morning

* Soon after general Clinton failed from Boston, Lee set out with a strong detachment to secure New York against an apprehended attack. Having succeeded in that object, general Clinton could not but be surprised, at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in possession, and in the same state of preparation in which he had left him at New York Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee traversed the continent with the utmost expedition, to secure North Carolina: and at length upon the farther progress of the fleet and army to the southward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charlestown.

of

of the twenty eighth of June, and commenced the attack by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Bristol which was the commodore's ship, and the Experiment, both of fifty guns, with the Active and Solebay frigates, brought up directly against the fort, and began a furious cannonade, which was returned with equal fury and with more effect, on account of the superior advantages of the enemy. The Sphynx, Actæon, and Syren frigates were ordered to the westward to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, so as to enfilade the works of the fort; to cut off, if possible, the communication between the forces on the continent, and the garrison in the island; and to prevent any attempts that might be made by fireships or otherwise to interrupt the grand attack. But unfortunately, through the unskilfulness of the pilate, they were entangled in some shoals where all three stuck; and though two of them were in some time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition to execute the intended service*. The failure of that part of their design which had for its object the cutting off all communication between the island and the continent, may be said to have decided the fate of the day; for between one and two o'clock, the fire from the fort slackened for want of ammunition, nor could it be renewed till the garrison received a fresh supply from Lee's camp. After that pause, the cannonade was continued without intermission till night. The Bristol and Experiment, being most pointed at, appeared like wrecks upon the water. The springs of the former ship's cables being cut by the shot, she lay exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be terribly raked. It is said that her quarter deck was at one time cleared of everyperson but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness, which have seldom been equalled, never surpassed. The

* The Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

others

others on that deck were all either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. The heroic valour of captain Morris correſponded well with that of his commodore. After receiving a number of wounds, which would have ſufficiently juſtified any man in retiring from his ſtation, he nobly diſdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length ſhot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a poſſibility of recovery. Above a hundred of the crew were killed or wounded: nor was the loſs much leſs on board the Experiment. During this dreadful and obſtinate conflict, the ſeamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eaſtward, ſtill expecting to ſee the land forces advance from Long Iſland, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to ſecond the attack upon the fort. The attempt, indeed, had been made, but was found impracticable. The creek in the rear of the fort, though in general fordable, was at this time, through a long continuance of eaſterly winds, deep and dangerous. Sir Henry Clinton and ſeveral other officers waded up to their ſhoulders, and then, on finding the depth of water increaſe, thought it madneſs to proceed any farther. Every other effort of co-operation was alſo exerted by the general, though to very little purpoſe. The moment the fleet began firing, the batteries on Long Iſland opened. In about an hour after, the light infantry, grenadiers, and fifteenth regiment embarked in boats, the floating batteries and armed craft getting under way at the ſame time to cover their landing on Sullivan's Iſland. But they were quickly ordered back, the approaches being found ſo diſadvantageous, and ſo much under the immediate command of the enemy's guns, that their perſeverance could only have been attended with certain deſtruction. Theſe cauſes of the ſeeming inactivity of the army being at that time unknown to the brave combatants on board the fleet, they could not help feeling much diſappointment, though it did not ſlacken their aſtoniſhing exertions. At length the tide of ebb being nearly ſpent, which was rather an alarming circumſtance

as it would have been impoſſible to get the ſhips back over the bar at low water, and ſir Peter Parker perceiving that all hope or poſſibility of ſucceſs was at an end, he withdrew his ſhattered veſſels between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, from an engagement which had been ſupported with ſuch extraordinary courage and vigour for above ten hours, and which the aſſailants, though worn down with fatigue and reduced by loſs, were ſtill unwilling to diſcontinue. In a few days after, orders were iſſued for the troops to embark on board the tranſports; and on the twenty firſt of July the army ſailed for New York, under convoy of the Solebay frigate, the reſt of the fleet being under the neceſſity of delaying a little longer to refit.

XI. In the ſketch before given of the plan of the preſent campaign, ſome remarks were made on its three principal objects, the relief of Quebec, the recovery of the ſouthern colonies, or at leaſt their diverſion from the ſupport of the common cauſe, and the grand expedition againſt New York. The event of the two former attempts, which may be called with ſome propriety the collateral parts of this plan, has juſt been deſcribed. On the third, far ſurpaſſing the others in magnitude and importance, the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs were not unreaſonably founded. The iſlands, which conſtitute ſo large a part of the province of New York, were expoſed on all ſides to the eaſy deſcent of troops, and to the direct attacks of a naval armament, The central ſituation of the province made it alſo a deſirable inlet to the ſurrounding colonies. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut and the continent of New York on the eaſtern ſide, or in New Jerſey and from thence to Penſylvania on the weſtern, ſo as to leave it in the power of the Britiſh commander to preſcribe the ſcene of action, and to quit it when he liked in perfect ſecurity. To crown theſe and many other local advantages, Long Iſland, which is very fertile in all kinds of corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almoſt equal in itſelf to the maintenance of an army. Theſe inviting

circum-

circumftances would have probably tempted general Howe to make a defcent on that ifland, after he left Bofton, inftead of purfuing his voyage to Halifax: but his troops were too much weakened by ficknefs, and by the effects of their former long confinement and haraffing duty, to be fit for immediate action; nor were they in other refpects fufficiently provided. Inftead, therefore, of rifking the fuccefs of fo important an enterprife by a premature attempt, general Howe determined to go to Halifax, and there wait for the recovery of his own men, and the arrival of reinforcements. But after a long ftay of above two months, growing inpatient as the fummer advanced, and being probably urged by the fcarcity of provifions, he left Halifax the eleventh of June, and, on the twenty ninth, reached Sandy Hook near New York, where he was met by major general Tryon, the late governor, who gave him a full account of the ftate and difpofition of the province, as well as of the ftrength of the enemy. Finding all the approachable parts of New York and Long Iflands in a powerful ftate of defence, he proceeded to Staten Ifland, which being of lefs value and confequence was lefs attended to, and where he landed without oppofition on the third of July. The fuccours from England, and the armament which was to co-operate with him, did not arrive for a week after. The naval force was under the command of his brother lord Howe, who had alfo been appointed joint commiffioner with the general, under the late act of parliament, for reftoring peace to America. It was thought that conciliating propofals would derive fome increafe of popularity from being conveyed through the medium of two officers, whofe gallant brother had, in the former war, glorioufly fallen at Ticonderoga in defence of the colonies. But gratitude was never yet known to take root in a republican foil; and the artful leaders of the rebellion had been lately too fuccefsful in their endeavours to preclude the poffibility of reconcilement.

XII. On the fifteenth of May, the congrefs had taken an opportunity of feeling the general pulfe of the

people, and of preparing them for the declaration of independency which was to follow, by a kind of circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it, as they said, necessary, that all authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. Pensylvania and Maryland seemed particularly averse to the proposed separation from the parent state.— The question was debated with great warmth in the provincial assembly of the former, and then referred to their constituents, by whom, however, it was decided in favour of the recommendations of congress. In Maryland, the delegates were instructed by a large majority of the assembly to oppose the declaration of independency; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew. A body of the people soon obliged them to return, and the assembly were also compelled to ratify the important resolution. Every obstacle being thus surmounted either by threats or intrigues, the congress, assuming a new title, and stiling themselves the representatives of the *United States of America*, published on the fourth of July a solemn act, declaring those states to be *free and independent*; absolving them from all allegiance to the British crown; and renouncing all political connection with the mother country*.

XIII. Lord Howe was very much chagrined to find that this step had been taken before his arrival, as it threw a new and almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of any treaty. His lordship, however, resolved to

* A supplement to the Declaration of Independency was published by the congress on the fourth of October following, under the title of Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the thirteen specified states, laying down an invariable system of rules or laws for their government in all public cases with respect to each other in peace or war, and also extending to their commerce with foreign nations. These articles received, as soon as the necessary forms would permit, the separate ratification of each colony.

make

make ſuch efforts as yet remained, to bring about an accommodation. His firſt act, on the fourteenth of July, was to ſend aſhore, by a flag, a circular letter to the ſeveral late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and deſiring that they would publiſh as generally as poſſible, for the information of the people, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece, he fully explained the nature of his commiſſion and of the authority with which his brother and he were inveſted, under the late act of parliament, to declare any colony or diſtrict to be at the peace of his majeſty; and to grant general or particular pardons to all thoſe who, in the tumults and diſaſter of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favor. It alſo promiſed that a due conſideration ſhould be had to the ſervices of all perſons who contributed to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity. The circular letter and the declaration appeared in all the newſpapers by the order of congreſs, with a preface or comment artfully calculated to counteract the effect of both. Dr. Franklin, who had reſided for ſome years in England as agent for the colonies of Maſſachuſets and Penſylvania, being now a leading member of the congreſs, lord Howe addreſſed a letter to him alſo, touching upon the above mentioned points; expreſſing a hope and a wiſh to find in America the ſame diſpoſition for peace that he brought with him; and concluding with requeſting the doctor's aid to accompliſh this deſired end. The doctor, in reply, informed his lordſhip, that, preparatory to any propoſitions of amity or peace, it would be required that Great Britain ſhould acknowledge the independence of America, defray the expences of the war, and indemnify the colonies for burning their towns*. This, however, he ſtated to be only his

* The only town, beſides that of Norfolk, which was ſet fire to by the Britiſh ſhips of war, was Falmouth in Maſſachuſet's Bay, which had provoked an

his private opinion, and not authorifed by thofe to whom the Americans had intrufted the power of peace and war. A correfpondence was opened at the fame time with general Wafhington, but to as little purpofe. Lord Howe and his brother, unwilling to accede to fuch ftrange preliminaries as doctor Franklin pointed out, and feeing, from the declaration of independence, and the vigorous preparations of the enemy, that nothing lefs would be accepted, refolved to commence hoftilities without farther delay.

XIV. The troops under general Clinton from the fouthward, and fome regiments from Florida and the Weft Indies, having joined the grand army, which now amounted to near thirty thoufand men, the operations began on the twenty fecond of Auguft. A detachment of four thoufand men was firft embarked, and having landed without refiftance on the fouth weftern extremity of Long Ifland, they were foon followed by the reft of the army and artillery. On the oppofite fide near the village of Brooklyn, within view of New York, a large body of Americans, to the number of fifteen thoufand, were ftrongly pofted, under the command of general Sullivan, affifted by general Putnam and fome other able officers. His lines extended on the left to the Eaft River which feparated him from New York: he was fecured on the right by a marfh reaching to an inlet of the fea called Gowan's Cove; and he had Governor's Ifland and a bay to the rear of his encampment. Between the armies was a range of hills covered with wood, interfecting the country from eaft to weft: through thefe hills are three paffes, one to the weftward, called the Narrows; a fecond nearly in the centre, taking its name from the village of Flat-bufh; and the third bending to the eaft towards the town of Bedford, on which fide there was a road leading round the extremity of the hills to a plantation called Jamaica. Thefe defiles were

attack by fimilar caufes of offence. But what pretext had the American army for the wanton acts of devaftation and hoftility they committed in Canada?

guarded

guarded by numerous parties; and the heights behind them were occupied by about two thirds of the whole body of forces, who had been detached from the camp to obstruct the progress of the British army. General Howe, having formed his plan, stationed general Grant at the head of the left wing to guard the coast, and to attempt a passage through the Narrows: general De Heister, with the Hessians, was ordered to the central post at Flat-bush: and it being deemed practicable, from the report of general Clinton and Sir William Erskine who had reconnoitred the position of the enemy, to turn their left, the commander in chief resolved to make the attempt himself with the right wing, consisting of a strong advanced corps under general Clinton, supported by the Brigades under lord Percy. This division setting off about nine in the evening of the twenty sixth, and crossing the country by Flat-Lands, easily made themselves masters of the eastern pass, which, on account of its great distance, had been rather neglected by the enemy. Instead of securing it by a stationary force, they had contented themselves with sending out occasional patroles of cavalry to watch it: one of these being intercepted by a British advanced guard, the pass was gained without any alarm being communicated to the Americans. At nine o'clock in the morning the British troops reached Bedford. An attack was immediately begun on the enemy's left: they made but a feeble resistance, and retired from the woody grounds to their lines, into which they threw themselves in evident confusion. As soon as the firing from this quarter was heard, general De Heister, with a column of Hessians, poured upon their center; and, after a warm engagement, forced them to take shelter in the woods, with the loss of three pieces of cannon. General Grant's column, which had marched from the Narrows by the edge of the bay in the course of the night, and had driven the advanced guard of the enemy from a strong pass where they were posted, began a very furious cannonade upon them early in the morning, in order to di-

vert their attention from their left wing and rear where all the danger lay. They returned the fire with great ſpirit and perſeverance till they received news of the total rout of the reſt of their army. Upon this, they fled in the utmoſt diſorder: a few ſmall parties took to the woods: but the greater number attempted to make their eſcape through the marſh at Gowan's Cove, where many were drowned, and ſome periſhed more miſerably in the mud. Had general Grant made a rapid movement to the edge of the moraſs, they muſt all have been killed or taken priſoners. But general Howe was much more blamable for not purſuing the advantages gained on his ſide. With cold and dilatory caution he checked his brave men in the career of ſucceſs, and reſtrained them from attacking the American lines, which in all probability would have been quickly forced in the conſternation of the moment. But though the victory was not ſo deciſive as it might have been, owing to thoſe reſtrictions impoſed by the commander in chief, yet the loſs of the Americans was conſiderable. Very near two thouſand of them were killed or drowned; and about half that number, including three of their generals, Sullivan, Stirling and Udell, with ten other field officers, were made priſoners. The Britiſh and Heſſian troops had not in all above ſeventy killed, and about two hundred wounded.

XV. It is curious to hear general Howe's reaſon for not permitting his forces to exert their manifeſt ſuperiority. "As it was apparent," ſaid he, "that the lines muſt become ours at a very cheap rate, by regular approaches, I would not riſk the loſs that might have been ſuſtained in the aſſault, and ordered them back to a hollow way out of the reach of the muſketry." The enemy were much more obliged to him than his own men for this extraordinary tenderneſs. General Waſhington, who had paſſed over from New York during the engagement, and who is ſaid to have burſt into a peignant exclamation of grief, when he beheld the inextricable deſtruction in which ſome of his beſt troops were involved,

and

and the like fate impending over the remainder, now ſaw a ſudden ray of hope ſhoot through theſe glooms from the unaccountable backwardneſs of the Britiſh commander. While the latter was therefore preparing his *regular approaches*, having next day broken ground in form within ſix hundred yards of the neareſt redoubt, general Waſhington effected a retreat in the night of the twenty ninth, with ſuch wonderful ſilence, ſecrecy, and order, that the Engliſh army did not perceive the leaſt motion, and were ſurpriſed in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and ſeeing the laſt of the enemy's rear-guard in their boats and out of danger. The only advantage which general Howe derived from his firſt day's victory and his ſubſequent caution, was the inglorious acquiſition of the deſerted works of Brooklyn.

XVI. Soon after this tranſaction, general Sullivan was ſent upon parole, with a verbal meſſage from lord Howe to the congreſs at Philadelphia, importing, that though he could not at preſent treat with them in a legal character, yet he was deſirous of conferring with ſome of the members as private gentlemen. He ſaid, that he had, in conjunction with the general, full powers to compromiſe the diſpute between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independency had taken place: that he wiſhed a compact might be ſettled at this time, when no deciſive blow was ſtruck, and neither party could ſay they were compelled to enter into the agreement: that if the congreſs were diſpoſed to treat, many things which they had not yet aſked might and ought to be granted to them: and that if, upon the conference, any probable ground of accommodation appeared, the authority of congreſs muſt of courſe be afterwards acknowledged, in order to render the compact complete. The congreſs returned for anſwer, " that being the repreſentatives of the free and independent ſtates of America, they could not with propriety ſend any of their members to confer with his lordſhip in their private cha-

racters;

racters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorized by congress, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make." Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge being accordingly appointed, waited upon lord Howe at Staten Island. But no advantage was likely to accrue to the mother country from such a committee, the members of it being men whose principles were violent in the extreme, and who sought every opportunity of reducing the parent state to the most humiliating situations. They refused to act in any other character than as a committee deputed by congress; but said they were ready to hear lord Howe's proposals. He told them, that the most ardent wish of the king and government of Great Britain was to put an end to the present unhappy differences; and that, in order to accomplish this desire, every act of parliament which had been thought obnoxious to the colonies should undergo a revisal, and every just cause of complaint should be removed, if they would declare their willingness to submit to the British government. The gentlemen of the committee replied, that an acknowledgment of the superiority of Great Britain could not now be expected: they endeavoured to justify the conduct of the colonies, and to throw all the blame of separation on the mother country: they said, that even if the congress wished to replace America in her former situation, they had not the power to do so; for the declaration of independency had been made in consequence of the collected voice of the whole people, by whom alone it could be invalidated and abolished: but, they added, though the Americans desired not to return under the domination of England, yet they were willing to enter into any treaty that should be deemed advantageous to both countries. On receiving this answer, lord Howe put an end to the conference; and the deputies, on their return to congress, made their report, that his lordship's commission appeared to them to contain no other authority of importance than

was

was comprised in the act of parliament; for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, and transmitting the result of such inquiry to England, they apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too precarious for America to have relied upon, had she still continued in her state of dependance. Lord Howe, on his part, published a declaration to the people of America, wherein, after glancing at the answer returned by the committee to his offers of reconciliation, he acquainted them that the parent state was ready to receive into its bosom and protection all who might be willing to return to their former obedience.— But this declaration had no great effect; for those who resolved to accede to nothing short of an acknowledgment of the independence of America, had acquired the sole management of affairs, and had concentered in themselves all the powers and resources of the country.

XVII. It now became the duty of the English commissioners to endeavour to make amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their naval and military operations. The royal army being divided only by the East river, about thirteen hundred yards in breadth, from the island of New York, where the provincial forces had taken refuge, were impatient to pass that narrow boundary. After a long and severe cannonade from batteries which had been erected on some small islands between the opposite shores, and from several ships of war judiciously stationed to cover the disembarkation of the troops, while others kept hovering round, to increase the uncertainty of the real object of attack, a descent was made, on the fifteenth of September, at Kipp's Bay, within three miles of the town of New York. The army of general Washington being posted, part in the environs of the city, and part at Kingsbridge on the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the continent, apprehensions were entertained that the English general, by landing a body of forces in the centre, would cut off the communication between them; on which a resolution was taken to evacuate the city; and on the actual landing

ing of the Britifh troops at Kipp's Bay, the Americans retreated with precipitation and fome lofs to Kingfbridge, where they had ftrong intrenchments. The Englifh commander in chief here let flip another opportunity of ftriking a decifive blow. Inftead of directing his attention to New York, and there wafting the valuable moments in frivolous delay,* he ought to have thrown his army round Kingfbridge, by which means he would have completely hemmed in the American forces on every fide. A great deal of time was fpent in erecting a chain of redoubts to cover New York†; and fome brigades of Britifh and Heffian troops being left to defend it, the reft of the army at length embarked, on the twelfth of October, in flat-bottomed boats, and landed the fame morning near Weft Chefter, on the continent towards Connecticut, with a view to gain the rear of general Wafhington's encampment, and thereby force him either to hazard a battle, or fuffer himfelf to be furrounded and confined in York Ifland. The American commander, alarmed by the remonftrances of general Lee, who had

* As foon as the Englifh had taken poffeffion of New York, general Howe and fome other officers repaired to the houfe of a Mrs. Murray, with whom they remained in converfation fo long, that general Putnam, with three thoufand five hundred men, was enabled to make good his retreat to the main body of the American army.

† Thofe fortifications were of very little fervice. One advantage, however, arofe from the ftay of the Britifh forces at New York. The Americans had refolved, provious to the evacuation of it, to fet it on fire in feveral places. But the fpeed with which they were obliged to quit it, prevented them from executing their defign. In fix days after, the attempt was made by fome perfons who had purpofely fecreted themfelves in the deferted houfes, and who carried their plan into effect with fuch wicked fkill, that eleven hundred houfes, forming nearly a third part of the town, were deftroyed; and the whole city would have been burned to the ground, had it not been for the extraordinary exertions of the military. lately

lately returned from South Carolina*, perceived the necessity of making a grand movement to counteract this project, and immediately decamping with his whole army, took a new and strong position at White Plains, the deep river Brunx covering his front, and the North river flowing at some distance in the rear.

XVIII. On the twenty-eighth of October, the royal army advanced in two columns within cannon-shot of the American lines, and a part of the left wing crossing the river, attacked an advanced post of the American encampment, commanded by general Macdougal, who was compelled with loss to retreat to the main army: the right and center, fortunately for the Americans, did not quit the ground on which they had at first formed. Next day, general Howe observing the lines much strengthened by additional works, resolved to defer the assault till the arrival of some troops he had left on York island, who joining him at the expected time, he made new dispositions for storming the American intrenchment on the last day of October; but incessant rains prevented the execution of his plan, and in the night of the first of November, Washington drew off his troops, and took another and still stronger position amidst the woods and highlands, bordering on the North Castle district. General Howe, perceiving that the nature of the country would not admit of forcing the American

* When the British army landed near West Chester, Washington harangued his officers, and told them, that they must retreat no farther, but decide the fate of America on the ground where they were then intrenched. Lee came up soon after, and having learned what had passed, remonstrated against so desperate a resolution. He said, that the British would infallibly hem Washington's army round with such a chain of works, as would reduce him to the necessity of surrendering through famine, without exposing them to the risk of a battle. These representations had due effect on Washington, whose heroic spirit, disdainful of continual retreat, might otherwise have hurried him beyond the dictates of his cooler judgment.

commander to an engagement, made a sudden movement towards Kingsbridge, and unexpectedly invested fort Washington, a strong post, which the Americans, contrary to the earnest advice of Lee, occupied on the North river, opposite to which was fort Lee on the Jersey side. Colonel Magaw, the commander of the fortress, refusing to surrender to general Howe's summons on the fifteenth of November, it was carried sword in hand by a furious assault the next morning. The loss of the royal army in killed and wounded amounted to about eight hundred: that of the garrison to near twelve hundred, besides more than two thousand who were made prisoners. On this acquisition, lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong body of forces to form the investment of fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garrison, who retired with such precipitation as to leave behind them their artillery, provisions, and stores. General Washington, who had passed the North river, with a view to the protection of the province of Jersey, now found himself compelled to retreat with a very diminished force to Newark, whence he fell back, on the approach of lord Cornwallis, to Brunswick, leaving Newark the very morning that his lordship entered it. As the van of lord Cornwallis's army advanced to Brunswick by a forced march, on the first of December, general Washington retreated to Prince Town, having first broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordship were positive not to advance beyond Brunswick, he here sent dispatches to the commander in chief, expressing sanguine hopes, that by a continued pursuit he could entirely disperse the army under general Washington, and seize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could pass the Delaware. But general Howe would not revoke his order, saying only that he would join his lordship immediately. Almost a week, however, elapsed before this junction took place, nor was any vigorous effort then used to recover lost time. On the seventh of December the British army marched from Brunswick at four o'clock in the morn-

ing, and about the ſame hour in the afternoon arrived at Prince-town, from which place general Waſhington in perſon, with Stirling's brigade, had not been gone quite an hour. Trenton on the Delaware, where the Americans were to embark for Penſylvania, was but twelve miles diſtant. Yet the Britiſh troops were detained for ſeventeen hours at Prince-town, and marching thence at nine o'clock next morning, got to Trenton at four in the afternoon, juſt when the laſt boat of Waſhington's embarkation croſſed the river, as if general Howe had calculated with the niceſt accuracy, the exact time neceſſary for his enemy to make his eſcape.

XIX. During this memorable retreat of the main army, general Lee, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, had followed the track of lord Cornwallis, but at too great a diſtance to be of any ſervice to the commander in chief. It ſeemed as if his proud ſpirit, which could brook no ſuperiority, would have been gratified by the total defeat of Waſhington, to whom he would probably have ſucceeded as generaliſſimo of the forces of America. But inſtead of promotion, the moſt mortifying diſgrace now awaited him. On the thirteenth of December, while his army lay encamped in Morris County, intending to croſs the Delaware to the northward of Trenton, he proceeded with a few attendants to the diſtance of two or three miles, in order to reconnoitre; and ſtopped at a place called Baſking-ridge to breakfaſt. Colonel Harcourt, who had been ſent out with a party of light horſe to watch Lee's motions, receiving intelligence of his ſituation, inſtantly formed a plan for capturing this able officer, ſtiled by the Britiſh army the *American Palladium*. Having made the proper diſpoſitions to prevent Lee's eſcape, Harcourt galloped up to the houſe where the general was at breakfaſt, ſurpriſed the centinels placed to guard it, forced open the door, and made him a priſoner, as well as a French lieutenant colonel who had accompanied him. The general was immediately mounted, and conveyed in ſafety to the Britiſh camp, though ſeveral guarded poſts

 and

and armed patroles lay in the way. The making of a single officer prisoner would, in other circumstances, have been a matter of no very great moment; but in the present state of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance than the want of discipline in the soldiers, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprise was directed by great knowledge of his profession acquired in actual service, was of the utmost importance, and the more distressing, as there was little room to hope it could be soon supplied. Washington, not having at this time any prisoner of equal rank with Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him; or if this was not accepted, he required that general Lee should be treated suitably to his station, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange. General Howe did not then think that Lee ought to be considered as a prisoner of war, but rather as a deserter from the service of Great Britain; though he had resigned his commission as a British officer on the commencement of the troubles. He was therefore closely confined; which afforded the Americans a pretext for treating several of their prisoners with an unusual degree of rigour.

XX. While the royal army were overrunning the greater part of the Jerseys without opposition, general Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, and a squadron of ships of war under the command of sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprise they succeeded even beyond expectation; for the rebels having abandoned the island at their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man, on the very day that general Washington made his escape cross the Delaware. In consequence also of their sudden arrival and success, an American squadron of five frigates, commanded by one Hopkins, was under the necessity of retiring up the river Providence, where it remained blocked up, and inactive. Notwithstanding these favor-

able

able circumstances attending the expedition, it has been censured as injudicious in the first instance, and disserviceable in its ultimate effects. When it was proposed by general Howe and his brother, sir Henry Clinton strongly urged that he might rather be permitted to conduct it to the Delaware. Had his counsel been adopted, an irrecoverable blow might have been given to the Americans; whereas the possession of Rhode Island answered no other end but that of keeping a great body of troops unemployed there for three years after.

XXI. At the time of general Washington's retreat over the Delaware, the affairs of the rebellious colonies seemed rapidly verging to a crisis. His army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted to near thirty thousand men, was now reduced to a tenth part of that number. Whole regiments retired from the service, having been enlisted only for a twelvemonth, and alledging as an excuse for their present desertions, that it was incumbent on their countrymen to bear an equal share in the support of the common cause. The panic, struck by the disasters at Long Island, New York, and the White Plains, with the progress of the royal army through the Jerseys, had extended itself from the military to all the civil departments of the new states. The governor, council, assembly, and magistracy of New Jersey had deserted that province. The congress itself fled with great precipitation to Baltimore in Maryland; and some of the members sought pardon and security at the British head quarters. Repeated attempts were made to raise the militia of Pensylvania,—in vain. Three of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, in behalf of the rest, waited on congress before their flight, and boldly informed them that they intended to meet general Howe, and throw themselves on his protection. The principal city of North America, and then the seat of the new government, only waited for the arrival of the British army, to submit to the mother country. Even Washington trembled for the fate of his adored republic, and talked of retiring with the remains of his army to the

receſſes of the Allegany mountains, expecting to have been immediately followed by the Britiſh forces. For though all the boats on the Delaware were, by a timely precaution, removed to the Penſylvanian ſhore, the neighbourhood ſupplied ample materials, which art and induſtry might ſoon have conſtructed into rafts and flotillas ſufficient for the tranſportation of the troops. But nothing of the vaſt, the vigorous, or deciſive appeared in the plans or conduct of general Howe, who, from ſo often ſtopping the progreſs, chilling the ardour, and benumbing, as it were, the faculties of his victorious troops, acquired the diſgraceful nickname of the *military Torpedo*. He now ordered them into winter cantonments, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick to the Delaware, and down the banks of that river for many miles, ſo as to compoſe a front at the end of the line looking over to Penſylvania. Waſhington, on being fully informed of this diſpoſition, exclaimed in the ſpirit of a vigilant and ſagacious commander, " now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy, while they are ſo ſpread."

XXII. Very early in the morning of the twenty ſixth of December, a day purpoſely ſelected on the ſuppoſition that the preceding feſtivity might favor the project of ſurpriſe, general Waſhington croſſed the Delaware, not without extreme difficulty, as the river had begun to be frozen; and directly proceeding on his march in the midſt of a ſtorm of ſnow and hail, reached Trenton by day-break. Here, about one thouſand ſix hundred men, chiefly Heſſians, were ſtationed under the command of colonel Rahl, who were thrown into confuſion at the firſt attack. The colonel himſelf being mortally wounded, the diſorder increaſed; and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Princetown: but finding this impracticable, and being now overpowered and nearly ſurrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Loſsberg, and Knyphauſen, laid down their arms and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; the remainder of the troops narrowly eſcaping by way of Bordentown.

In

In the evening general Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery, and colours; and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph.

XXIII. Nothing could have been more critically favorable to the republican cause, or more injurious to the reputation, as well as to the future progress of the royal army, than this enterprise. The charm was now dissolved; and it being found by experience, that the Hessians in particular, whom the enemy had hitherto beheld with a sort of terror, were not invincible, great numbers of the Americans, who had deserted their colours, again repaired to the standard of their commander. The victory at Trenton served also to give wonderful effect to an appeal, which the congress had published about a fortnight before, to the inhabitants of the colonies, the principal objects of which were to awaken their attention, remove their despondency, renew their hopes and spirits, and urge them to forward the completion of an army on a regular and lasting establishment. It soon appeared that this single stroke of success operated more powerfully on the great body of the people than all the other inducements held out to them to enlist, such as large bounties, the future acquisition of landed property, and the promise of foreign assistance*. Reinforcements

* Besides a bounty of twenty dollars to each soldier at the time of enlisting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were killed, in liberal proportions from one hundred acres, the share of a private man, to five hundred, that of a colonel: those, who enlisted for the term of three years, which was also allowed as more agreeable to many than an indefinite engagement for the continuance of the war, received the same bounty in money, but were cut out from any allotment of lands: half pay during life was decreed to all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were or might be disabled in action: with regard to assistance from foreign states, congress said they had received the most positive assurances on that head; and in order

ments poured in so fast from every side, that in a few days general Washington found himself in a condition once more to cross the Delaware; and lord Cornwallis, who was actually at New York in his way to England, was ordered to return to the defence of the Jerseys. His lordship finding the troops in that quarter collected at Prince-town under general Grant, marched at their head the second day of the new year, to attack the enemy who were strongly posted at the back of Trenton Creek. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides which continued till dark. Lord Cornwallis determined to renew the attempt next morning; but general Washington, who was far from intending to risk a battle, silently withdrew his army in the dead of the night, leaving fires burning in his camp, and the usual patroles to keep up appearances; and by a circuitous march arrived just before sun rise at Prince-town. Here the fourth brigade of British troops, consisting of the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty fifth regiments, were posted under the command of lieutenant colonel Mawhood, who had begun his march in order to join lord Cornwallis, when he fell in with the van-guard of the American army. Though engaged with a far superior force, the brave Mawhood, at the head of his own corps, with extraordinary gallantry fought his way through the thickest ranks of the enemy; the other regiments making separate retreats by different roads: they suffered, however, very severely in this unequal conflict, and were in a great measure disabled for future service.

XXIV. As soon as lord Cornwallis discovered Washington's manœuvre, being alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick, he proceeded instantly to its defence. The Americans crossed

der to strengthen this opinion, they nominated three of their body, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, commissioners to the court of Versailles, to solicit aid, and to propose the plan of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and alliance. the

the Millstone river, without any farther attempt at that time; but in a few days after, whilst lord Cornwallis remained at Brunswick for the necessary refreshment of his harassed troops, Washington overran both East and West Jersey, spreading his army over the Rariton, and penetrating into Essex County, where he made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth-town, and Woodbridge. He fixed his head quarters at Morris-town. This place is situated amongst hills extremely difficult of access. A fine country was in his rear, whence he could draw supplies, and through which he could at any time secure an easy passage over the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis's troops were, on the contrary, very much straitened at Brunswick and Amboy, the only posts which they retained of all their late extensive acquisitions in the Jerseys. It was fortunate that both those places had an open communication by sea with New York, as neither forage nor provisions were to be procured in any part of the adjoining country, but at the price of blood. The licentious ravages of the German soldiery, during the time they were in possession of the province, had excited the utmost resentment and detestation of the inhabitants; and the fortune of war now seeming to turn against them, the whole country rose in arms, and great numbers who before had been well affected to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and the wavering, now became its bitterest and most determined enemies. Such were the untoward events that in the winter damped the hopes of an army so lately deemed irresistible, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing prosperous campaign.

CHAP. III.

I. *Causes of the little Emotion, which the News from America, in the Course of so important a Campaign, excited in England.* II. *Loss sustained in the West-India Trade.* III. *Symptoms of reviving Enmity on the Part of France and Spain checked for some Time by the spirited Resolutions of the British Cabinet.* IV. *His Majesty's Speech at the Meeting of Parliament.* V. *Opposition to the Addresses*

Addresses; with Remarks on Lord North's Defence or Explanation of the Word "Unanimity." VI. *Motion made by Lord John Cavendish, in Consequence of a Declaration issued by Lord Howe and his Brother soon after the taking of New York.* VII. *Defence of the Conduct of the Commissioners.* VIII. *Secession of the Rockingham Party.* IX. *Asperity and Indecency of Mr. Temple Luttrell's Attack on Lord Sandwich.* X. *Supplies for the Sea and Land Service.* XI. *Changes in the Department for the Education of the young Princes, and in the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.* XII. *Reflections on one of the most important Duties of the Recorder of public Events.* XIII. *Mr. Harrison's Ingenuity and Perseverance in the Improvement of his Time-pieces for ascertaining the Longitude.* XIV. *Remarkable Precautions used by Mr. Hume against having his Character emblazed, after his Death, with the Splendors of gaudy Panegyric.* XV. *Sketch of Mr. Ferguson's astonishing Progress in Astronomy, experimental Philosophy, and Mechanics.* XVI. *Public Trials of Mr. Hartley's Preservative from the Ravages of Fire.* XVII. *Some Account of the Life and Execution of the famous Incendiary, John the Painter.* XVIII. *Bill for granting Letters of Marque, and another for securing Persons charged with High Treason, brought in by the Minister, and carried, after some Amendments.* XIX. *Subject of Contracts discussed.* XX. *Close Division in a Debate on a Claim set up by the Landgrave of Hesse for the Expences of foreign Hospitals in the last War.* XXI. *Application to Parliament for discharging the Debts on the Civil List, and for augmenting the royal Revenue.* XXII. *Sir Fletcher Norton's Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords.* XXIII. *Success of this artful Scheme for acquiring Popularity.* XXIV. *Summary of the Minister's Statements at the Opening of the Budget.* XXV. *Revolution at Madrass—Imprisonment and Death of Lord Pigot—Subsequent Proceedings at the India House and in Parliament.* XXVI. *Lord Chatham's Motion for an Address on the "Removal of accumulated Grievances."* XXVII. *Expeditions to Peek's Kill and Danbury considered as happy Preludes to the*

the Opening of the Campaign. XXVIII. *These Blows in some Degree retaliated by the Destruction of the British Vessels and Provisions at Saggy Harbour.* XXIX. *A Detachment of the American Army defeated by Lord Cornwallis after several ineffectual Endeavours to bring Washington to an Action.* XXX. *General Prescot carried off from Rhode Island, and exchanged for Lee.* XXXI. *Departure of the British Fleet and Army for Chesapeak Bay; with another Instance of Sir William Howe's Neglect to improve the Advantages of a Victory at the Brandywine.* XXXII. *Major-general Grey surprises and routs with great Slaughter a large Party of Americans under General Wayne; and Lord Cornwallis takes peaceable Possession of Philadelphia.* XXXIII. *Washington's sudden Attack on the Head-quarters at German Town defeated by the Address and Intrepidity of Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave.* XXXIV. *Navigation of the Delaware opened to Philadelphia, where the Commander in chief and his Army spend the Winter in Dissipation and Indolence.* XXXV. *Conduct of the northern Expedition injudiciously committed to General Burgoyne.* XXXVI. *His Speech to the Indians at the War-feast, and his impolitic Manifesto.* XXXVII. *Naval Force of the Americans destroyed, and the Rear of their Army almost entirely cut off in their Flight from Ticonderoga.* XXXVIII. *The tedious and harassing March of the British Troops to Fort-Edward soon followed by some severe Checks near Bennington and at Fort Stanwix.* XXXIX. *Well-fought, but indecisive Action near Still-Water; and the northern Army left to its Fate, after an Attempt to make a Diversion in its Favor by an Expedition up Hudson's River.* XL. *Series of Distresses and Disasters, which terminated in the mortifying Catastrophe at Saratoga.* XLI. *Observations on General Burgoyne's Defence, Recrimination, and Conduct before and after that melancholy Event.* XLII. *Debate occasioned by the King's Speech in November.* XLIII. *Parliamentary Inquiries into the State of the Nation.* XLIV. *A Motion made by lord Chatham for Papers relative to the Expedition from Canada negatived, and another concerning the*

Employment

Employment of the Savages dismissed by the previous Question. XLV. *Reasons for an early Adjournment.* XLVI. *Subscriptions for raising new Levies.* XLVII. *Various Debates in the Committee of Inquiry after the Christmas Recess.* XLVIII. *Lord North's new Plan of Conciliation.* XLIX. *Ways and Means for the current Service.* L. *Mr. Gilbert's Bill for a Tax on Salaries and Pensions rejected by a Majority of six only.* LI. *French Ambassador's Avowal of a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Alliance concluded with America.* LII. *Bills founded on some Resolutions in favour of Ireland ultimately dismissed, and a few trivial Points conceded.* LIII. *Sir George Saville's Bill for the Repeal of certain Penalties on Papists.* LIV. *Duke of Richmond's Speech on the Necessity of an immediate Recognition of American Independence, and Lord Chatham's Reply.* LV. *Death of the latter—Honors paid to his Memory.*

I. POSTERITY may be at a loss to conceive, or to account for, the little emotion which the news from America in the course of so important a campaign excited in England. The great distance of the seat of war would certainly render its effects less interesting: they would be more slightly felt, and, if ever so unpleasant, could excite no apprehension of any immediate danger. As this war also was not attended with national antipathy or rivalship, established enmity, or even a present competition for glory, it wanted some of the strongest incitements to general anxiety for every event. But these were not the sole, nor the principal causes of the seeming indifference which at this time pervaded the kingdom. As nothing decisive had yet been done, the attention of the people at large was suspended for the present, and they only looked forward to future consequences, which were still involved in utter darkness. The hopes of those, who approved of vigorous measures, and who constituted a great majority of the nation, were kept alive, but not fully gratified by the chequered occurrences of the campaign: they were therefore cautious, upon any shew of temporary or partial success, to indulge

dulge in a triumph which might be found premature. Their political adversaries had stronger reasons for being silent, and for, at least, affecting to receive the intelligence of victories and defeats with equal unconcern. The usual bickerings of party were almost swallowed up in the uncertain issue of the remote contest; and, during the recess of parliament, a degree of stillness prevailed, which had never before, perhaps, been equalled in a state of actual hostility.

II. The foregoing remarks must, however, be considered as applicable only to the great body of society, not to all the smaller circles in which the zealots on both sides were alike intemperate in their approbation and their censure. Besides the just indignation which some felt at the baseness or ingratitude of the Americans, and the fears expressed by others that the quelling of the colonists was designed as a prelude to the extinction of civil liberty in the whole empire, private interest alone may be supposed to rouse the passions and inflame the language of individuals in their debates on this subject. It was natural for persons who were benefited by the war, to magnify every instance of success; while the losses it occasioned, and the ruin it was pregnant with, were the constant themes of immediate sufferers. The planters in the West-India islands and the merchants at home were peculiarly clamorous,—not without some reason. Those islands had experienced great distress since the commencement of the troubles. The usual supplies from the continent being withheld, several of the necessaries of life, particularly the articles of sustenance used for the support of the negroes, as well as of the poor and laborious whites, had risen to four times their customary price. Staves, which in the next degree to food were an object of the greatest necessity, were not to be procured in a sufficient quantity at any price. Other wants multiplied, and would undoubtedly have given more uneasiness, had not the dread of famine absorbed all lighter considerations. In addition to these calamities, a conspiracy of the negroes in Jamaica, though happily disco-

vered in good time, and easily crushed in the bud, yet in its consequences proved extremely injurious. As the military force in Jamaica had been weakened by draughts for the American service, and that the departure of a large fleet of merchantmen, with a part of the squadron on that station for their convoy, would render the island still more naked and defenceless, the negroes had fixed upon that time for carrying their design into execution. The fleet, which was to have sailed in July, was detained, on account of the discovery of the plot, a month longer; and this delay, besides being attended with an immediate heavy expence to the owners, was productive of much greater misfortune. The Americans thereby gained time to equip their privateers; and bad weather separating the fleet, many of the merchant ships, of considerable value, fell into their hands. The loss sustained in the West-India trade this year was estimated at more than a million sterling.

III. But as the most decisive superiority at sea could not be supposed to secure the widely extended commerce of Great Britain against every accident, inevitable losses of this kind were not a source of such serious alarm to government as the strong symptoms of reviving enmity on the part of France and Spain, which were easily discovered under the flimsy disguise of amicable professions. Their harbours in Europe began to swarm with American privateers, and English prizes were at first openly sold there without any affectation of concealment or secrecy. After some remonstrances on this head, a little more decorum was observed: the open disposal of prizes was checked; but the practice still continued in secret. In the French West-India islands, the countenance given to the Americans was much more avowed. French vessels accepted American commissions, and carried on hostilities, or rather depredations, against the British commerce, with few, and sometimes no American seamen on board. Such shameless treachery was very irritating; but it was deemed prudent for a while to suspend the assertion of the national dignity. The ministry saw very clearly,

clearly, that the real intentions of the courts of Madrid and Verſailles were far from correſponding with their pacific aſſurances; and that the armaments fitting out in their ports, under the pretence of a frivolous diſpute with Portugal, were much more probably deſigned to co-operate with America. Still it would have been bad policy to haſten the rupture at that time; though it was judged neceſſary to prepare for it with reſolution and vigor. About the middle of October, ſixteen additional ſhips of the line were put into commiſſion; and the moſt effectual methods were taken for ſpeedily manning them, by the offer of liberal bounties, and the more diſagreeable expedient of preſſing. Proclamations were alſo iſſued, commanding all Britiſh ſeamen, who were employed in any foreign ſervice, to return to England; and laying an embargo on the exportation of proviſions from Great Britain and Ireland. Theſe marks of deciſion, and the intelligence which had lately reached Europe of the ſucceſſes attending the Britiſh arms on Long Iſland and at New York, concurred to check for ſome time the headlong impulſes of pride, avarice, and revenge in the perfidious houſe of Bourbon*. IV.

* The French had a glorious ſpecimen given them this ſummer of the old, the characteriſtical intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen. Sir Thomas Rich, in his majeſty's ſhip the Enterpriſe, happened on the twenty fifth of July to fall in with a French ſquadron of two ſail of the line and ſeveral frigates, commanded by the duke of Chartres. The French bore down upon her, and the admiral hailed the Enterpriſe, and deſired the captain to come on board immediately; to which the latter replied, that, if the admiral had any thing to communicate to him, he might come on board the Enterpriſe, as the captain ſhould not go out of his ſhip. The duke inſiſted that he ſhould, or he would ſink him; and the French ſhips accordingly pointed their guns at the Enterpriſe; but ſir Thomas, regardleſs of their hoſtile threats and preparations, declared, that he never received any orders but from his *own* admiral; and that they were at liberty to fire when-

IV. Both houſes of parliament met on the laſt day of October. They were aſſured in the ſpeech from the throne, that nothing could have afforded his majeſty ſo much ſatisfaction as to have been able to inform them, at the opening of the ſeſſion, that the troubles in North America were at an end, and that the unhappy people there, recovered from their deluſion, had returned to their duty; but ſo daring and deſperate was the ſpirit of their ambitious leaders, that they had openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with the mother country: they had rejected with circumſtances of indignity and inſult the means of conciliation held out to them: they had preſumed to ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates; and if their treaſon were ſuffered to take root, much miſchief muſt grow from it to the ſafety of the loyal colonies, to the commerce of Great Britain, and to the general ſyſtem of Europe: one great advantage would, however, be derived from the open avowal of their intentions, and that was unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of the meaſures to be purſued: the recovery of Canada, and the ſucceſſes on the ſide of New York afforded ſtrong hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences; but notwithſtanding this fair proſpect, it was neceſſary to prepare for another campaign: aſſurances of amity were ſtill received from other courts, and it ſeemed likely that Europe would continue to enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace; yet it was thought expedient to be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence: the great conſequent expence was regretted; but no doubt was entertained, that the importance of the matters under conſideration would procure a chearful grant of the ne-

ever they pleaſed, as he poſitively would not quit his ſhip. The duke, admiring his ſpirited conduct, begged it as a *favor* that he would do him the honor to come aboard, as he wiſhed much to be acquainted with ſo brave a man. Upon this ſir Thomas went directly, and was received with the utmoſt reſpect by the duke and all his officers.

ceſſary

ceffary fupplies. "In this arduous conteft," added the king, "I can have no other object but to promote the true interefts of all my fubjects. No people ever enjoyed more happinefs, or lived under a milder government, than thofe now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boaft, declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their ftrength by fea and land, which they think fufficient to enable them to make head againft the whole power of the mother country are irrefragable proofs of it. My defire is to reftore to them the bleffings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britifh fubject, which they have fatally and defperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

V. The addreffes in anfwer to this fpeech were couched in the ufual form, and produced, according to the late practice of the oppofition, very long debates, more remarkable for their violence than their novelty. An amendment, which was in reality an addrefs in a totally different ftrain, was moved by lord John Cavendifh in the lower, and the marquis of Rockingham in the upper houfe, defcribing at full length, and feverely reprobating the pretended errors and mifconduct of the miniftry, as having occafiond, it was faid, the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt of fo large a part of his majefty's once loyal and affectionate fubjects. This amendment was fupported in the houfe of commons by only 87, and rejected by 242. The original addrefs was then put and carried. In the houfe of lords, the friends of adminiftration were equally powerful. The marquis of Rockingham's motion was negatived by 91 to 26; but the propofed amendment was entered at full length in the journals, as a proteft, and figned by fourteen of the minority. To whatever caufes the ftrength of the minifter within doors might be afcribed by the moft malignant enemy, it is certain that the number of his zealous fupporters all over the kingdom was confiderably increafed by the American Declaration of Independency, and by the evafive and contemptuous manner

in which the congress had rejected every offer of peace and lenity. These were such convincing proofs of the real designs of the factious leaders, that no reasonable doubt could remain of their having been all along actuated by an insatiable thirst of dominion and power. Lord North's defence, or explanation of the word *unanimity* in the speech might, therefore, admit of much greater latitude than the immediate purpose of the debate required. He said, "that by unanimity, it could not be supposed, that a total union of sentiment, on every side of the house, was meant: that could hardly be imagined, or expected: it meant great and decisive majorities." This was as strictly true of the whole nation, at that juncture, as of either house of parliament.

VI. In a few days after the presenting of the addresses, there appeared in some of the public prints a copy of a declaration from lord Howe and his brother, which had been issued in America soon after the taking of New York, addressed to the people at large of that continent, and acquainting them with his majesty's having been graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all acts by which his subjects there might think themselves aggrieved. This piece being brought into the house by lord John Cavendish, he at first affected to consider it as a forgery, and an imposition on the public, which required exemplary punishment: but its authenticity being acknowledged by the minister, his lordship expressed in the strongest terms his astonishment at both the contents of the declaration and the extraordinary manner in which it came to the knowledge of parliament, who in the whole conduct of the business had been treated merely as ciphers by the minister, and who were now at length informed, through the medium of a common newspaper only, that they stood engaged to America to undertake a revision of those laws by which the Americans had conceived themselves to be aggrieved: notwithstanding the resentment he felt as a

member

member of the houſe at this miniſterial inſolence of conduct, his lordſhip ſaid, that a dawn of joy broke in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, and that if miniſters were ſerious, he ſhould not ſtand upon mere punctilios: in order, therefore, to give them all poſſible weight and aſſiſtance towards carrying ſuch a deſign into effect, and to ſecure that neceſſary degree of confidence which the ſanction of parliament could alone give to any treaty that might now be ſet on foot, he moved "that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the reviſal of all acts of parliament, by which his majeſty's ſubjects thought themſelves aggrieved." Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Dunning were the principal ſpeakers in ſupport of this ſingular motion, which was made in a thin houſe, and on a day when no buſineſs of any conſequence was expected.

VII. The miniſter and his friends, though taken as it were by ſurpriſe, acquitted themſelves in a very maſterly manner. They denied that there was any thing novel, any thing that bore the appearance of dictating to parliament, in the promiſe held out by the commiſſioners: on the contrary, as it was founded on the great principle which had pervaded the conduct of adminiſtration from the beginning, ſo it was the language of parliament at the very outlet: the great object was the reſtoration of peace in America: the addreſs of both houſes in February 1775, the bills which followed that addreſs, the act of parliament under which the commiſſioners proceeded, and their declaration, which was now held up as an object of offence, all tended to the ſame point: the main purport of the addreſs was a recommendation to his majeſty to hear and inquire into grievances, and to engage on the part of the legiſlature that where they really exiſted, they ſhould be redreſſed: the proclamation went no farther: even without theſe ſanctions, the king, as the head and mouth both of the nation and legiſlature, would have been warranted in ſuch an engagement, as a motive of encouragement, and ground of reconciliation. The charge of intending to keep the matter from the know-

ledge

ledge of parliament hardly deserved a reply: could any possible privacy be supposed, with respect to a public proclamation, which was posted for general inspection on the walls and houses of New York? such an idea was absurd: ministers did not, indeed, think the paper itself of sufficient moment to be laid before parliament: it was as yet no treaty, nor part of a treaty: it was barely a preliminary, which might eventually lead to one: had any progress been even made in the negociation, it would have been equally improper and unprecedented to lay it before the house, unless it was suspended at some point where the interference of parliament became necessary: the conversations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. de Bussy, which formed the basis of the subsequent treaty with France, were not published during their continuance.—The motion for a committee was strenuously opposed upon many grounds: it was said, that it would discredit the commissioners, and throw unexpected difficulties in the way of a negociation: the very attempt to give any new sanction to their proceedings would imply, that they were not before armed with parliamentary powers sufficient to fulfil the professed objects of their commission,—a circumstance which must naturally infuse into the minds of the Americans improper jealousies and apprehensions: besides, why should parliament run before the commissioners in their concessions? such a premature bounty might defeat all their endeavours to obtain the most advantageous terms: but the most forcible objection to the motion was, that to revise or repeal laws, under the idea of redressing the grievances of a people, who totally denied the authority of those laws, and who consequently could not be aggrieved by them, would be an absurdity of so superlative a degree, as could not fail exciting the ridicule of mankind: the Americans had declared themselves independent: while they persisted in that claim, and hurled defiance at the sovereign state, no treaty could be thought of; and concessions would be as futile, as ridiculous and disgraceful: but, if they consented to acknowledge the authority of the mother country, then

would

would be the proper season to revise and repeal obnoxious laws, and to form regulations for their future ease and government: the congress did not at present govern America; but held it enthralled under the most cruel tyranny: from the late successes, and the difference between the troops that composed the armies on both sides, there was little room to doubt, that this arbitrary power would soon be dissolved, and the people, finding themselves emancipated from the galling yoke of their leaders, would return to their duty with as much rapidity as they had before entered into the revolt.

VIII. After a long and passionate debate, lord John Cavendish's motion was negatived by a majority of 109 to 47; and from this time, a great number of the minority, chiefly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon parliament, or rather to withdraw themselves wholly and avowedly upon all questions which related to America, and only to assist in the dispatch of private business. They said, they were tired of opposing reason and argument to superior power and numbers; and that, in the present state of affairs, their struggles tended rather to inflame than to lessen the distemper of the public counsels. Their example, however, was not followed, nor was their conduct approved of by several other members of the opposition, who thought that a partial secession was inconsistent with their parliamentary duty, though they admitted that seceding collectively had not only the sanction of precedent, but might be practised with great advantage in cases of imminent danger to the constitution. The disunion occasioned by this difference of opinion added greatly to the strength of the ministry; but it had also the curious effect of increasing the violence of such of the minority as were determined not to leave a clear field to the friends of government. A remarkable instance of this occurred two days after [Nov. 8] in a debate on the subject of the navy.

IX. Upon the motion and grant, in the committee of supply, of forty-five thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, Mr. Temple Luttrell seized the opportunity

portunity of reprobating, in terms of the utmoſt aſperity, the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty, whom he charged with a wilful and dangerous impoſition both on parliament and the public, tending to lull the nation at this critical ſeaſon into a fatal ſecurity, by a falſe account of the ſtate of the navy, with reſpect to the number of ſeamen and the condition of the ſhips. Being repeatedly called to order, firſt, for the indecency of attacking an abſent perſon, who, from his particular ſituation as a peer, could not defend himſelf in that houſe, and ſecondly, for introducing the ſubject in ſuch a manner, without any accuſation being formally before them, which could bring it within their cognizance, Mr. Luttrell inſiſted upon his right, as one of the repreſentatives of the people, to make ſuch obſervations on the conduct of miniſters as appeared to him to be well founded. As to the objection of a want of formal accuſation, he would *cure* that, as ſoon as the houſe was reſumed. He accordingly did ſo, and moved for ſundry returns of the navy, within certain ſpecified periods, which, he ſaid, would anſwer the important purpoſe of letting the houſe into the true ſtate of the national defence and ſecurity, beſides affording the proofs he wanted, to eſtabliſh his charges againſt lord Sandwich. But Mr. Luttrell was too apt to defeat all the force of his own arguments, or the occaſional ſhrewdneſs of his remarks, by the intemperate heat, the vulgar coarſeneſs, the downright ribaldry of his invectives. He was not ſatisfied with paying lord Sandwich an ironical complimennt "on his bearing away the palm of ſpecious falſehoods, while he had ſo many competitors in the miniſterial fraternity:" nor with inſinuating, "that his lordſhip might perhaps be worſhipped by the ſavages of Otaheite, though no good ſubject of this country held him worthy of his public truſt:" but he aſſerted, in ſtill groſſer language, "that the abſolute management of the maritime power of the Britiſh empire was too arduous, too ſolid, too important a truſt, to be committed to a *bon vivant* of his lordſhip's levity of diſpoſition, and known depravity of conduct, eſpecially now that the piping

houre

hours of jubilee and dalliance were at an end." Lord Sandwich's character was ably vindicated by the minister and many other of his friends, from such foul and infamous aspersions: the papers were refused, as any disclosure either of the strength or weakness of the country would be extremely impolitic and unseasonable; and the motion was rejected without a division.

X. The naval supplies, which were now voted for the ensuing year amounted to three million, two hundred and five thousand, five hundred and five pounds, exclusive of four thousand pounds towards the support and relief of worn-out seamen not provided for in Greenwich hospital, and a million granted at the close of the session for the discharge of the navy debt. The supplies for the land service fell little short of three millions. The extraordinaries for the last year, amounting to one million, two hundred thousand pounds, with some new contracts for German forces, and the expences of half-pay and Chelsea, were not included in the gross sum. These necessary parts of the public business being dispatched, and the land and malt-tax bills having received the royal assent, both houses adjourned on the thirteenth of December, (which was appointed for a general fast,) to the twenty-first of January following.

XI. Every contest during this first part of the session served only to display the increasing stability of the ministers, and the weakness, disunion, and despondency of their opponents. All the members of the cabinet appeared to be on a footing of the utmost harmony, as well as in a state of perfect security. No change had taken place for the whole year in any office of the least consequence, except in the department for the education of the prince of Wales and bishop of Osnaburgh, and in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. The former places had been vacated about the end of May, the earl of Holdernesse, governor, the bishop of Chester, preceptor, Mr. Smelt, sub-governor, and the rev. Mr. Jackson, sub-preceptor, having all resigned their respective employments, owing, it was said, to some disagreement between

the

the governor and preceptor. Lord Bruce was first induced to accept the governorship, with a promise of being created earl of Aylesbury: but the office not suiting his temper or inclination, he gave it up in a few days, when his brother, the duke of Montague, was appointed governor; Dr. Hurd, then bishop of Litchfield, preceptor; colonel Hotham, sub-governor; and the rev. Mr. Arnold, sub-preceptor. Lord Bruce obtained his earldom, and was called to the privy council: the marquis of Carmarthen, who was married to the earl of Holdernesse's daughter, was appointed a lord of the bedchamber: and towards the close of the year, upon the death of Dr. Drummond, the bishop of Chester was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York. Thus was the royal favor equally dispensed to those who had resigned the care of the princes, as well as to their successors. The like remark cannot be made on the change of governors in Ireland. Lord Harcourt, during his residence there, was not fortunate enough to give satisfaction either to the king, or to the people: he left the country, unregretted; and, on his return to England, he was received at court with much coolness. But before his recal, means had been used to smooth the way for the future viceroy. A great promotion in point of rank, and a considerable augmentation as to number, were made in the peerage of Ireland, about the beginning of July; and the earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed lord lieutenant of that kingdom, the twenty second of November.

XII. Though the recorder of public events is obliged to devote a great part of his labours to the detail of ministerial changes, to the struggles of rival parties, and to the revolutions effected by war or intrigue, he must not pass over unnoticed the less splendid, but more important services often rendered to society in much humbler spheres. While, therefore, he does justice to the virtuous and eloquent senator, pleading with lips of fire the cause of his country, or to the hero bidding defiance to dangers and to death in its defence; it is also his duty to embalm in the odours of well-merited praise the memo-

ries

ries of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by improvements or diſcoveries in the arts, by enlarging the ſphere of uſeful ſcience, or by their elegant and inſtructive compoſitions. He will thus eſtabliſh a juſter claim to the notice, and perhaps to the grateful acknowledgments of poſterity, than by exciting all the powers of his genius in giving an artificial verdure to the blood-ſtained laurels of victory, and in making the car of triumph rattle through his ſounding periods, though the wheels are clogged with human gore.

XIII. Theſe reflections aroſe in contemplating a few memorable deaths that happened in the courſe of the year, the military and political occurrences of which have juſt been related. The firſt was that of Mr. John Harriſon, the inventor and conſtructor of the famous time-keepers, for aſcertaining the longitude at ſea. Men of aſtronomical knowledge, or ſkilled in naval affairs, are well acquainted with the nature of thoſe machines; but to others ſome little explanation may be neceſſary, in order to give them a clear idea of the merit of the diſcovery, and of the ingenuity and patience of the admirable mechanic, who ſpent almoſt fifty years in carrying his time-pieces to the utmoſt degree of poſſible perfection. The principles, on which he proceeded, were very ſimple: the great difficulty conſiſted in reducing them to practice.—It is well known that the longitude of any place is an arch of the equator, intercepted between the firſt meridian and the meridian of that place; and that this arch is proportional to the quantity of time that the ſun requires to move from the one meridian to the other; which is at the rate of twenty-four hours for three hundred and ſixty degrees, one hour for fifteen degrees, one minute of time for fifteen minutes of longitude, and four ſeconds of time for one minute of longitude. Conſequently the difference of longitude between any two places may be eaſily determined, provided the difference of time between them can be found. If, therefore, a machine could be ſo conſtructed as to keep equal time at

ſea,

ſea, notwithſtanding the irregular motion of the ſhip, and the variations of heat and cold, of dryneſs and moiſture, of the friction of bodies in motion, and of the fluidity of oil, which variations alone cauſe very conſiderable irregularities in the motion of the beſt time-keepers, even at land; the difference of time between any place and that to which ſuch machine was originally ſet, might be found; and, conſequently, the longitude, by reducing the difference of time into degrees and minutes. The firſt who attempted any thing of this kind was M. Hüygens of Zulichem, who, in 1644, conſtructed a pendulum-watch, with which major Holmes, in a voyage from the coaſt of Guinea the following year, predicted the longitude of the iſland of Fuego to a great degree of exactneſs. But after a variety of farther trials, that acute mathematician found himſelf unable to guard againſt all the foregoing cauſes of irregularity, ſo as to make his watches anſwer in long voyages. The failure of his endeavours, and of ſimilar experiments made by many others, did not damp Mr. Harriſon's ardor, or diſcourage his perſeverance in purſuit of the ſame object. After various contrivances, he made a pendulum-clock, which by the year 1726 was found to keep time ſo exactly with the heavens, as not to err above one ſecond in a month, for ten years together; and in the year 1729 he made drawings for, and began ſuch improvements to his machine, as prevented its motion from being interrupted by the agitation and various accidents to which it muſt be expoſed at ſea. From this time he never ceaſed for ſeveral years to ſimplify and improve theſe machines, the utility of which was more and more confirmed by repeated voyages, till he brought them to a degree of accuracy far ſurpaſſing the moſt ſanguine expectations of the public, and more than deſerving all the rewards, however liberal, which he received from the commiſſioners of longitude and from parliament. After long enjoying the ſweeteſt ſatisfaction of ſucceſsful ingenuity, he died at his houſe in Red-Lyon-Square, on the twenty-fourth

twenty fourth of March, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.*

XIV. The literary world soon after felt a much more affecting shock in the death of David Hume. His modesty, which was equalled only by his genuis, seems to have suggested some remarkable precautions against having his character emblazed with the splendors of gaudy panegyric. He finished, about four months before his decease, so candid, yet so masterly a sketch of his own life and writings, as to preclude others from taking up the same subject; and his will contains an express prohibition not to put any thing upon his tomb-stone,

* The following extract from Ludlam's view of Harrison's time-piece may afford some satisfaction to those who have never seen any clock or watch constructed on the same or similar principles:

"The defects in common watches, which Mr. Harrison proposes to remedy, are chiefly these: 1st. that the main spring acts not constantly with the same force upon the wheels, and through them upon the balance: 2d. that the balance, either urged with an unequal force, or meeting with a different resistance from the air, or the oil, or the friction, vibrates through a greater or less arch: 3d. that these unequal vibrations are not performed in equal times: and 4th. that the force of the balance-spring is altered by a change of heat,

"I. To remedy the first defect, Mr. Harrison has contrived, that his watch shall be moved by a very tender spring, which never unrols itself more than one eigth part of a turn, and acts upon the balance through one wheel only. But such a spring cannot keep the watch in motion a long time. He has therefore joined another, whose office is to wind up the first spring eight times in every minute, and which is itself wound up but once in a day.

"II. To remedy the second defect, Mr. Harrison uses a much stronger balance-spring than in a common watch. For, if the force of this spring upon the balance remains the same, whilst the force of the other varies,

ſtone, but that he was born the twenty-ſixth of April 1711, and died the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1776. His works ſufficiently ſhew how well the intermediate ſpace was filled. Had he left nothing behind him but his Hiſtory of England, his whole life would have been deemed happily employed even in that ſingle production.

XV. Scotland had, in the ſame year, to mourn the loſs of another of her illuſtrious ſons, who, though born in penury, and without any advantages of education, roſe by the native vigour of his own mind to the higheſt

varies, the errors ariſing from that variation will be the leſs, as the fixed force is the greater. But a ſtronger ſpring will require either a heavier or a larger balance. A heavier balance would have a greater friction. Mr. Harriſon therefore increaſes the diameter of it. In a common watch, it is under an inch: in this of Mr. Harriſon's, two inches and two tenths.

"III. Had theſe remedies been perfect, it would have been unneceſſary to conſider the defects of the third ſort. But the methods already deſcribed only leſſening the errors, not removing them, Mr. Harriſon uſes too ways to make the times of the vibrations equal, though the arches may be unequal. One is to place a pin, ſo that the balance-ſpring, preſſing againſt it, has its force increaſed; but increaſed leſs when the vibrations are larger: the other, to give the palates ſuch a ſhape, that the wheels preſs them with leſs advantage, when the vibrations are larger.

"IV. To remedy the laſt defect, Mr. Harriſon uſes a bar compounded of two thin plates of braſs and ſteel, about two inches in length, riveted in ſeveral places together, faſtened at one end, and having two pins at the other, between which the balance-ſpring paſſes. If this bar be ſtraight in temperate weather (braſs changing its length by heat more than ſteel) the braſs ſide becomes convex when it is heated; and the ſteel ſide when it is cold: and thus the pins lay hold of a different part of the ſpring in different degrees of heat, and lengthen or ſhorten it, as the regulator does in a common watch."

rank

rank in astronomy and mechanics. This was the celebrated James Ferguson, who died in Bolt-court, Fleet-Street, on the sixteenth of November. Mr. Hume, with the best opportunities of instruction, displayed at an early age no marks, no budding indications of those talents, the full-blown maturity of which afterwards astonished mankind. But Ferguson's extraordinary genuis began to exert itself almost in his infancy. He first learned to read by overhearing his father teach his elder brother; and he had made this acquisition before any body suspected it. He soon discovered a peculiar taste for mechanics, which was first excited by seeing his father use a lever. He pursued this study a considerable length, even whilst very young, and made a watch in wood-work, from having once seen one. As he had no instructor, nor any help from books, every advance he made in improvement had all the merit of an original discovery, and such, with infinite joy, he believed it to be. As soon as his age would permit, he went to service; and in the intervals of hard labour, he frequently contemplated the stars, and began the study of astronomy, by laying down, from his own observations only, a celestial globe. At length a farmer, with whom he lived, observing these marks of his ingenuity, procured him the countenance and assistance of his superiors. By their help and instructions, he went on gaining farther knowledge, and was sent to Edinburgh. There he began to take portraits, an employment by which he supported himself and family for several years, both in Scotland and England, whilst he was pursuing more serious studies. In London he first published some curious astronomical tables and calculations, and afterwards gave public lectures in experimental philosophy, which he repeated in most of the principal towns in the kingdom, with the highest marks of general approbation. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, without paying for admission,—an honour very rarely conferred on a native. The king, unsolicited, assigned him a pension, and made him some other presents as acknowledgements of his uncom-

mon merit. Yet no teſtimonies of applauſe, however flattering, could alter his natural diffidence and humility. His modeſty increaſed with his attainments; and thoſe who knew him intimately, were not leſs captivated by the meekneſs and innocence of his manners, than by the depth of his reſearches, and the admirable efforts of his genius.

XVI. It would ſcarcely admit of any excuſe, to conclude theſe ſketches, as well as the hiſtory of ſo memorable a year, without taking ſome notice of an equally grand, uſeful, and ſingular invention, of the efficacy of which the moſt ſatisfactory trials had been exhibited in the courſe of the laſt four or five months. This was a preſervative againſt fire, found out by Mr. David Hartley, member of parliament for Kingſton-upon-Hull, whoſe plans for ſettling the diſputes between the mother country and her colonies had already engaged the attention of the public, as well as of the legiſlature. But he found it ſafer to play with, and eaſier to check the deſtructive violence of fire in the phyſical world, than to extinguiſh the flames of political revolt, or to calm the boiſterous and untractable elements of human paſſion. Convinced that he could not make ſo important a diſcovery either as beneficial to himſelf as he had a right to expect, or as advantageous to mankind as his benevolence prompted him to wiſh, unleſs he could retain the ſole property in it, and, of courſe, the ſole management of it, for ſome unuſual length of time, he, with a ſpirit which muſt ever do him the greateſt honour, took as much pains, and ſpent as much money, to obtain that favor, if it may be called one, as the greedieſt adventurer in indigent circumſtances, on the one hand, or the moſt patriotic prince with immenſe revenues, on the other, might be ſuppoſed willing to ſubmit to. He built a houſe, three ſtories high, with two large rooms on a floor, on Wimbleton Common, and tried no fewer than ſix experiments upon this houſe, for the ſatisfaction of the public in general, and thoſe great bodies in particular, including his majeſty, whoſe approbation was requiſite

for

for his obtaining an extenſion of the term, to which royal patents are limited; and whoſe example beſides might be ſerviceable to induce the bulk of the people to open their eyes to their own good. One of the public trials, being the third in point of time, was diſplayed with peculiar propriety on the ſecond of September, the anniverſary of the great fire of London, before the lord mayor, the gentlemen of the corporation, and the committee of city lands; after which his lordſhip laid the foundation ſtone of a pillar to commemorate ſo extaordinary and beneficial an invention. The royal family and ſeveral perſons of rank were preſent at the fourth of thoſe experiments on the twenty-ſeventh of September. A fifth proof was given on gunpowder plot day, [Nov. 5] before a ſpecial committee of the city, attended by their builders, ſurveyors, and other proper officers; in conſequence of whoſe report, the freedom of the city was unanimouſly voted to Mr. Hartley in the moſt flattering terms of approbation; and the uſe of his method was earneſtly recommended by the court in all the houſes already built, or which might afterwards be built on the extenſive eſtates belonging to the city. Several of the moſt reſpectable members of both houſes of parliament attended the laſt exhibition of this ſort, on the eleventh of November*. As this was deſigned to be particularly ſtriking, in order to ſilence for ever any cavils, or poſſible objections to the certainty of the method, Mr. Hartley, after conducting his company round the houſe of trial, to ſhew them the marks of between twenty and thirty large fires, which, at former experiments, had been lighted in different parts of it; firſt ordered a fire to be made on the deal flooring of one of the ground rooms. Then, a large faggot of ſhavings, ſuſpended by iron to the upper part of the ſame room, was ſet on fire-

* Their teſtimony in favor of the experiment could not but very much contribute to the ſucceſs of Mr. Hartley's application to the legiſlature for the enlargement of his patent; which he obtained on the 3d. of March following.

Thirdly

Thirdly, the ſtair-caſe was ſet on fire both above and below, without the fires extending, in any inſtance, beyond the ſpot on which it was lighted. Laſtly, the other room on the ground floor, filled almoſt to the top with faggots, pitch, and other combuſtibles, was ſet fire to; but though they all burned with ſuch fury, as to emit a perpetual torrent of flame and ſmoke, and thereby render all approach within thirty yards of the windows, on the outſide, abſolutely impracticable, the room adjoining to, and that immediately over this little Ætna, continued as cool, and as acceſſible as if no fire had been in the houſe. Mr. Hartley and ſome of his friends remained in theſe very rooms a great part of the time, during which the fire burned with the greateſt violence in the other. Nor was it walls, and floors, and cielings alone, which were thus enabled to mock the rage of the otherwiſe all devouring element: fixtures and even furniture were rendered proof againſt it; particularly a bed, being purpoſely ſet on fire, little more of it was conſumed than what the fire had been immediately applied to. Aſtoniſhing as the effects of this contrivance muſt appear, the means perhaps may be thought equally ſo. It is only nailing the thinneſt plates of iron to the joints; and thoſe plates may be plain, or painted of any colour. "How," ſays the writer on whoſe teſtimony as an eye-witneſs the chief circumſtances of this laſt experiment are related, "would ſuch an happy event have rejoiced the good heart of the great Berkley, who, in his equally ſenſible, ingenious, and benevolent queries, looked upon our houſes, conſidering their materials, as ſo many fire-ſhips; and our towns and villages, as ſo many fleets and ſquadrons of ſuch ſhips met together for the laudable purpoſe of mutual deſtruction!"

1777. XVII. While one man was ſo ſucceſsfully exerting all the powers of his mind and reſources of his fortune in experiments to ſecure life and property from the dreadful ravages of fire, the infernal ingenuity of another was employed in horrid contrivances to deſtroy, as it were, in a general conflagration, all the dock-yards

and

and moſt flouriſhing cities in the kingdom. A fire which had broke out in the rope-houſe at Portſmouth, on the ſeventh of December, was then aſcribed to accident; but, about ſix weeks after, the diſcovery of a machine in the hemp-houſe deſigned for the ſame purpoſe led firſt to ſuſpicions, and afterwards by a train of circumſtances to the final conviction of the incendiary, commonly known by the appellation of John the painter, but whoſe real name was James Aitken. This wretch, who was born at Edinburgh, and bred a painter, being actuated by a roving ſpirit and a ſtrong propenſity to vice, had paſſed in the courſe of a few years through an uncommon variety of thoſe ſcenes which attend the moſt profligate and abandoned ſtate of a vagabond life. In his rambles through the different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, and worked at his trade, as occaſion invited, villany prompted, or fear or neceſſity operated. The reſtleſsneſs of his mind, or the dread of puniſhment made him ſhip himſelf off for America in the beginning of the year 1773; and he continued there for about two years. His being of a melancholy ſolitary nature, which neither ſought for aſſociates in crimes, nor admitted of partners in pleaſure, as it contributed much to his preſervation for ſome time from the juſtice of thoſe laws which he was conſtantly breaking, ſerved equally to throw in utter darkneſs all thoſe parts of his life, which he did not himſelf think fitting or neceſſary to communicate.— Of what he did in America little therefore is known, any farther than that he travelled through, and worked at his trade in ſeveral of the colonies. As his peregrinations there happened during the early progreſs of the rebellion, it may well be imagined, that the violence of the language and ſentiments held in political matters by that order of the people with whom he lived and converſed, gave a new turn, and added a ſort of frantic enthuſiaſm to his nefarious projects. He accordingly came back to England with the moſt deadly antipathy to the government and nation, and ſoon after formed a ſcheme

to

to destroy the maritime force of the country, as well as its internal strength and riches, by setting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their shipping of whatever sort, so far as it could be effected. In the prosecution of this atrocious design, he traversed the kingdom to discover the state of the several docks, and the nature of the watch by which they were guarded, which he in general found to be as lax and insufficient as he could have wished. However eagerly bent on this main object, he could not wholly refrain from his old practices; and among other exploits, he enlisted in several marching regiments, from each of which he deserted, as soon as opportunity served, after receiving the bounty money. In the autumn of the year 1776, he went to France, and communicated his intentions to Mr. Silas Deane, the American plenipotentiary to that court, who told him, according to his own story, "when the work was done, he should be rewarded." Whatever truth there may be in his having received this encouragement, it is certain, that, on his return from Paris, he set about his project with the utmost eagerness, and took wonderful pains in the construction of fire works, machines, and combustibles; but was strangely unsuccessful in all his attempts. It was owing to this failure in his machines, that the nation was saved from receiving some dreadful, if not irretrievable shock. One of them, which extinguished of itself, was found, as before intimated, several weeks after it had been laid, in the center of a prodigious quantity of one of the most combustible substances in the great hemp-house at Portsmouth. Others, which he had placed in the rope-house, took effect: and he had an opportunity, for several miles in his flight to London, to feast the malignity of his nature in the contemplation of that blaze he had excited, and which, from its prodigious appearance, he imagined had spread to all the magazines, buildings, and docks. The fire was happily subdued, with no other loss than that of the rope-house and its contents. He still pursued his design against the royal

docks

docks, but without ſucceſs, and narrowly eſcaped being taken at Plymouth. His next attempt was to burn the ſhipping that lay along ſide the quay at Briſtol, whence the flames would have quickly ſpread to the adjoining houſes, and been productive of the moſt terrible conſequences. But failing in his endeavours to ſet two or three of thoſe veſſels on fire, he found ſo ſtrict a watch kept afterwards, that he was obliged to change his mode of operation, and to aim at ſecuring the deſtruction of the ſhips, by beginning with the houſes. The atrociouſneſs of his deſigns was, as uſual, defeated by the inefficiency of his apparatus. At length, however, he ſucceeded ſo far as to ſet fire to ſome warehouſes in the vicinity of the quay, ſix or ſeven of which were conſumed; but the intended ravages ſpread no wider. The incendiary was now haſtening to the cloſe of his horrid career. Soon after his departure from Briſtol, he was taken up in Hampſhire for a burglary; and a variety of circumſtances then appearing to confirm the ſuſpicion of his being at leaſt an accomplice in the fire at Portſmouth, he was removed to London, to undergo a minuter ſcrutiny. Upon his ſeveral examinations, he behaved with great boldneſs, art, and an uncommon government in point of ſpeech, peremptorily refuſing to anſwer any queſtion, which admitted even of a doubt in the remoteſt tendency, that the reply could be wreſted to his crimination; nor was he in any ſort diſconcerted, or embarraſſed by the appearance or queſtions of ſome of the lords and other principal officers of the admiralty. Yet, with all his art and caution, he was circumvented by another painter, one Baldwin, who having alſo ſpent ſome time in America, found means from that circumſtance, and by pretending to ſympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles ſimilar to his own, to obtain his confidence in priſon; until at length he drew from him the whole hiſtory of his crimes. Upon his trial at Wincheſter, notwithſtanding the ſhock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend muſt have given him, he behaved with the ſame boldneſs and addreſs he had hitherto manifeſted; made a good defence, with

with ſome ſhrewd obſervations upon the nature of the evidence, and the acknowledged baſeneſs of the witneſs; and received ſentence of death with the moſt perfect indifference. He was removed from Wincheſter gaol on the tenth of March, and executed on a gallows ſixty feet high before Portſmouth dock-gate, the principal ſcene of his guilt. Before he was turned off, he ſent for one of the officers belonging to the yard, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and alſo gave ſome cautions, with reſpect to the future preſervation of the royal docks from ſimilar dangers*.

XVIII. Soon after the Chriſtmas receſs, a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant-ſhips, authorizing them to make prizes of all veſſels belonging to the thirteen revolted colonies, was paſſed without any difficulty in the houſe of commons; and gave almoſt as little trouble to the lords, with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration of inſerting the words letters of *permiſſion* in the place of letters of *marque*, the latter being thought peculiarly applicable to repriſals on an alien enemy. But another meaſure of which the firſt intimation was given, on the ſame day [Feb. 6] to the commons by the miniſter, occaſioned ſome violent debates, and brought back to the charge ſeveral of thoſe members who had ſeceded in a fit of peeviſhneſs or deſpair. Lord North moved for "leave to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon, committed in America or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy." He

* This hardened miſcreant died with very little ſhew of remorſe on his own part, and with ſtill leſs pity on the part of others: but the public, about the ſame time, took a very lively concern in the fate of the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, who was tried at the Old Bailey for forgery on the twenty ſecond of February; was found guilty; and underwent the ſevere ſentence of the law on the twenty-ſeventh of June.

prefaced

prefaced the motion by obferving, that, during the prefent difturbances, many prifoners had been made, who were in the actual commiffion of the crime of high-treafon; others, fufpected of the fame crime, could not be fecurely confined, for want of fufficient evidence: it had been cuftomary, in cafes of rebellion at home, or danger of invafion from without, to enable the crown to feize fufpected perfons; but as neither was now apprehended, he fhould not requeft that power in its full extent: he only wifhed to fupply the defects of the law as it ftood at prefent, which did not authorize government officially to apprehend the moft fufpected perfon; nor could the crown confine rebel prifoners or pirates in any other place than the common gaols: to remedy thefe inconveniencies, and to empower his majefty to confine fuch perfons in the fame manner as other prifoners of war, until criminal proceedings could be inftituted againft them, were, his lordfhip faid, the purpofes of his bill. Leave being given for its introduction, it was accordingly brought in, and read on the enfuing day. When the queftion was put for the fecond reading of it, Mr. Dunning, in order, as he alledged, to obtain time for the nation to confider, whether they would furrender the foundation and corner-ftone of all the rights which they poffeffed, moved to have the bill printed; in which the minifter could not well avoid acquiefcing. In every fubfequent ftage of its progrefs, it was vehemently oppofed by the minority, who faid, "that no reafon exifted for invefting the crown with fo dangerous a power; that it would tend to widen the breach between the mother country and the colonies; and that it was of fuch extent, as to bring every fubject of the Britifh empire who frequented the feas, within its perilous vortex; whence it might be made an inftrument of the utmoft injuftice and tyranny." Thefe and the like declamatory affertions were eafily refuted; and the minifter, in the courfe of the debates, repeatedly and explicitly difclaimed all defign of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects. He faid it was intended for America, not for

Great Britain;—that, as he would ask for no power that was not wanted, so he would scorn to receive it by any covert means,—and that, far from being desirous of establishing any unconstitutional precedent, he neither sought nor wished any powers to be vested in the crown or its ministers which were capable of being employed to bad or oppressive purposes. He gave the most unquestionable proofs of his sincerity by readily agreeing to some amendments which tended to remove every possible ground of jealousy or suspicion. The object of one of them was to define the crime of piracy, by declaring, "that nothing should be deemed so but acts of felony committed on the ships or goods of the subject on the high seas:" the other, which was of greater importance, was proposed by Mr. Dunning; and, after some small alteration, stood thus; "Provided also, and be it hereby declared, that nothing herein contained is intended, or shall be construed, to extend to the case of any other prisoner, or prisoners, than such as have been out of the realm, at the time or times of the offence or offences, wherewith he or they shall be charged, or of which they shall be suspected." The cheerfulness and candour, with which these amendments were received by the minister, did not prevent the minority from still continuing to combat the principle of the bill; but it was carried against them, upon the question of the third reading, by 112 to 35. In the house of lords, it gave rise to no debate, but to some explanatory conversation, all the peers in the minority having absented themselves, except the earl of Abingdon, who entered his protest on the journals.

XIX. This suspension, in part, of the *habeas corpus* act was not the only subject, in the debate on which some members of the opposition endeavoured to rally their forces. Several accounts of the extraordinary unprovided services of the war having been laid before the committee of supply, and two resolutions moved by the minister, that the sum of nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, part of the million granted by the last vote

of

of credit, and the farther sum of one million, two hundred thousand pounds, should be granted for the discharge of those services, a great number of objections were made, as well to the manner of stating the accounts, as to the charges in various articles of the expenditure. Lord North took considerable pains to obviate the intricacy of the accounts, and to supply their deficiency by explanation: he shewed what little grounds there were for the malignant animadversions made on the contracts for horses, transports, and rum, in particular: the best possible terms had in every instance been obtained; the bargains were always conducted with prudence and judgment; and so far from deserving censure, they afforded proofs of the greatest vigilance and frugality: his lordship denied, that any preference had been given to members of the house of commons in contracts, which were always entered into with those, who seemed the most able, and who were the best calculated to fulfil their obligations; but he, at the same time, maintained, "that there was nothing particular in the situation of a gentleman's holding a seat in that house, which should exclude him from the advantages he might otherwise derive as a man of business, either from his engagements with the public, or with individuals."—The resolutions were agreed to without a division.

XX. Among the items in those accounts which had undergone so severe a scrutiny, there was one for forty four thousand pounds, charged as issued to a colonel Fawcit, without any specification of purpose. This circumstance startled the committee for a moment; till lord North informed them, that the sum thus described had been applied to satisfy a very fair and reasonable, though unexpected demand made by the landgrave of Hesse for levy-money. But his lordship found it much more difficult, about two months after, to reconcile the house to another claim of above forty thousand pounds, set up by the same prince, for the expences of foreign hospitals in the last war. It was objected to the resolution, which was moved in the committee of supply for the pay-

ment of this sum, that a commission had been appointed and carried into effect upon the late peace, for the sole purpose of examining, settling, and liquidating the German claims;—that after long labour, and painful investigation, these were found to be so shamefully exorbitant, that a discount of sixty or seventy per cent. was not unusual, even on those which seemed to be the best supported;—that the present claim, with several others of the like nature, were utterly cast off, and all for the same cause, as being unfounded and unjust;—that the renewal of such a demand could now be considered in no other light than that of a foreign tribute exacted from Great Britain in the moment of her distress;—and that it would be highly disgraceful not only in administration, but in parliament, to submit in every instance to the insatiate rapacity of the German princes. On the other hand, the minister acknowledged the *staleness* of the claim; but as the account was clearly and fairly established, he insisted, that length of time did not weaken its justice or validity. It had never been rejected, he said, by the commissioners, as was falsely alledged in the debate: it had been only postponed, from its being connected with some other matter, which prevented its being brought with propriety immediately within their cognizance: it had never lain dormant, and consequently was not an old claim newly revived; but the demand was regularly kept up, according to the usual official forms, though from various causes and delays, payment had hitherto been deferred. The minister concluded by declaring, "that it was not brought on in consequence of any stipulation, and that it did not appertain to any treaty past or present; but that the honor of the nation founded upon its good faith to all mankind, and particularly to its allies, rendered the payment indispensible." The resolution was carried in the committee upon a division by a majority of 38 to 20. But upon receiving the report next day in the house, the debate was renewed with great warmth; and the report was agreed to only by

a majority of eight, the numbers being 50 to 42, upon a division.

XXI. A few days before the discussion of this foreign claim, the minister had been engaged in some very violent debates on a delicate and interesting subject of domestic concern. He had delivered a message from the throne, on the ninth of April, in which much uneasiness was expressed by the king at being obliged to acquaint the house with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the household and of the civil government, which amounted on the fifth of the preceding January to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds. The message was attended with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative statement of the whole amount of the civil list establishment from the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues which had been appropriated to the like purpose during the same period; the former being intended to explain the causes of the excess in the expenditure, and the latter to shew that the crown had been a loser by the bargain which it then made with parliament. The sixteenth of the same month having been appointed for referring the message to the consideration of the committee of supply, lord John Cavendish, on that day, moved, that the order of reference might be discharged. This motion, which was in effect, whether the speaker should leave the chair, brought out the whole force of debate, and the fullest display of eloquence and argument on both sides. The motion was at length rejected by a majority of 281 to 114; and the house, being then resolved into a committee of supply, passed two resolutions to the following purport; viz. "that the sum of six hundred and eighteen thousand, three hundred and forty pounds, should be granted to enable his majesty to discharge the debts on the civil list; and that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, over and above the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, be granted, as a farther provision for the better support of his majesty's household, and of the

honour and dignity of the crown." The minority said, that their oppoſition to this vote was founded upon the pureſt principles of patriotiſm, which equally included a due attention to the ability, the burthens, and the proſperity of the people, with the moſt perfect and liberal regard for the honor and happineſs of the ſovereign. But they pretended, that a compliance with the preſent application, in the extent and manner which was ſought by the miniſters and their adherents, would be equally an act of treachery to the prince and to the people, and a moſt ſhameful ſacrifice of their reſpective intereſts. It was, on the other hand, firmly maintained by the friends of adminiſtration, "that the crown had a juſt and equitable claim to the proviſion now demanded, in conſequence of that moſt generous act of his majeſty in the beginning of his reign, when from a truly paternal feeling for the burthens of his people, and a princely deſire of contributing to their eaſe, he ſurrendered the civil liſt revenue of the former reign, which was fully competent to all the expences of his houſehold and civil government, and accepted of the preſent income, which, without any experience to decide upon, it was then hoped, would have been ſufficient for thoſe purpoſes." It was ſhewn by the cleareſt and moſt indiſputable ſtatements, that the revenues formerly appropriated to the civil liſt, had, during the ſixteen years of the preſent reign, exceeded the amount of the actual royal income, by conſiderably more than two millions, about double the aggregate of the ſum granted in the year 1769, and that now requeſted. From theſe premiſes it was inferred, that the diſcharge of the preſent incumbrances, as well as the future augmentation, were evidently matters of right and juſtice, though applied for, and wiſhed to be received as favours. "Royal beneficence," it was ſaid, "had induced an experiment for the relief of the public: upon repeated trial, it was found incapable of its object: was the goodneſs of the ſovereign, and his tenderneſs to his people, to operate to his perſonal loſs? and his well-intended, though ineffectual attempts

to

to restrain his expences within certain limits of his own assigning to be given as reasons why he should abide by that determination, however impracticable it had been found?" To this argument in support of the equity of the demand, many others were added to demonstrate the real insufficiency of the present revenue for its assigned purposes. Remarks were made on the prodigious rise in all the necessaries of life, and the increase in every article of expence and mode of living, which had taken place during the last fifty years, being the period since certain funds were appropriated to the support of the civil list establishment, which were intended to produce, at least, a revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds a year. That rise in the value of things, and increase of expence, proceeded from the great influx of money, the extension of commerce, and the consequent increase of wealth; and though the rise was felt by the nobility and gentry in their private œconomy, they were however generally indemnified by a propoitional increase in the rents of their estates. "Was then the sovereign," said the minister, "to be the only gentleman in his dominions who was to be embarrassed and distressed in his private affairs by this change of circumstances?—and instead of benefiting by their prosperity, was he to experience the singular situation of being impoverished in an inverse proportion to the general affluence and increased wealth of his people?"—The happy and numerous increase of the royal family was also dwelt upon. However great the satisfaction derived from this circumstance, it was naturally and inevitably productive of great additional expence. Other matters of just consideration were in like manner to be taken into the account. The revenues of the crown had been greatly diminished in consequence of the public calamities; by these the American quit rents were lost; and by judgments of the courts of law, the four and a half per cent. West India revenue was very much lessened. In reply to the vague and idle clamour that was raised about the increase of pensions, and their being made the

fatal

fatal inſtruments of parliamentary corruption, the gentlemen of the minority were very candidly aſked, "are rewards to be cut off from the officers of the law, to whom age, and conſtitutions worn down by the toils of adminiſtering juſtice, have rendered an honorable repoſe as neceſſary as it is equitable?—muſt miniſters at foreign courts, who have ſpent their youth, and certainly not increaſed their fortunes in ſuch employments, retire to ſpend their loſt years in diſcontent and miſery?—is the munificence of the prince, in ſhort, to be fettered; are all exertions of ability to be diſcouraged, and all ardour in the public ſervice to be chilled by the deſpair of any future recompence?"—The charges, from different quarters, of an undue and dangerous influence obtained to the crown by the application of the revenue to the creation of ſtanding majorities, were reprobated as equally unjuſt, illiberal, and ſubverſive in their tendency, of all parliamentary freedom of inquiry and action. "Such a doctrine," it was ſaid, "if admitted, would cut up by the roots every pretenſion to a conduct founded upon opinion or principle. There could be no reaſon given, why majorities ſhould be leſs actuated by the latter motives than minorities. It was more juſt in fact, reaſonable in argument, and candid in ſentiment, to ſuppoſe that both acted upon principle. It was ſurely a moſt unfair, as well as unfounded inference, to preſume that a difference of opinion muſt neceſſarily proceed from improper and unworthy motives: to believe that ſuch motives were excluſively appropriated to the greater number would be too ridiculous."—When this part of the ſubject came to be diſcuſſed in the houſe of lords, the invariable conſtancy and greatneſs of the majorities on the ſide of government were farther accounted for, by being aſcribed to the uniform propriety and rectitude of conduct, which had firmly united the wiſe, the diſintereſted, the opulent, the virtuous, and even the bulk of the nation, in ſupport of the preſent miniſters;—"a ſupport," ſaid one of the peers, "as unprecedented as it is merited; and which is principally afforded in parliament by

by the landed intereſt of the nation,—by the great body of country gentlemen, who are too numerous and independent to admit the poſſibility of influence;—too deeply intereſted in the event, not to pay a ſtrict attention to the conduct of public affairs;—and too well verſed in the real intereſts of their country, to approve of any meaſures not founded on right policy and wiſdom."—The earl of Suffolk, in the warmth of debate, added with greater truth, perhaps, than temper or delicacy; "I do in my conſcience and ſoul believe, that the conduct of thoſe called *the oppoſition* in this country has been as inſtrumental in rendering the preſent adminiſtration popular, as the wiſdom and rectitude of their meaſures:—I do in my conſcience and ſoul believe, that it has increaſed the majority in both houſes;—and I am in my very heart and ſoul convinced, that they have rendered themſelves ſo univerſally *deteſtable*, by the mode and complexion of their oppoſition, that many members, who were doubtful as to the juſtice and expediency of the meaſures purſuing by the king's ſervants, have attached themſelves to adminiſtration, and voted with them, ſolely on that account." The majorities were certainly very deciſive in every debate on this ſubject in both houſes. When the report was brought up from the committee of ſupply, in order to be received by the commons, the firſt reſolution to diſcharge the arrears and debts owing on the civil liſt, was, in ſpite of all the efforts of a few of the minority, agreed to without a diviſion; and though the houſe did divide upon the report of the ſecond reſolution for the annual increaſe of the royal income, the ayes were 231 againſt 109. In the houſe of lords, the marquis of Rockingham's amendment to an addreſs of thanks and of chearful acquieſcence was rejected by a majority of 96 againſt 20; and the main queſtion on the addreſs was carried by nearly the ſame ſuperiority of numbers.

XXII. A very ſingular circumſtance attended the preſenting of the bill for the augmentation of the civil liſt revenue to receive the royal aſſent. Sir Fletcher Norton, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, reſolved to ſeize this occaſion

occasion of acquiring some popularity, of which he was suddenly become ambitious, though he had not the smallest claim to it on the ground either of genuine partiotism, of public services, or of professional integrity. When he went up with the bill to the bar of the house of lords, he there addressed the throne in the following speech:

"Most gracious sovereign,

"The bill, which it is now my duty to present to your majesty, is intituled, *An act for the better support of his majesty's houshold, and of the honor and dignity of the crown of Great Britain*, to which your commons humbly beg your royal assent.

"By this bill, sir, and the respectful circumstances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fullest and clearest proof of their zeal and affection for your majesty. For in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons postponed all other business; and, with as much dispatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue;—great, beyond example;—great, beyond your majesty's highest *wants**.

"But all this, sir, they have done, in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that, under the direction of your majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign will reflect dignity and honor upon his people."

XXIII. On the return of the speaker and of the members who accompanied him, he received the thanks of

* This was undoubtedly the word sir Fletcher made use of at the time, as appeared from the concurrent testimony of several members who took notes of his speech. But being afterwards struck with the indecency of the expression, he substituted the word *expence* for it, previously to its being published.

the

the houſe for his ſpeech, attended with the uſual compliment of deſiring that it might be printed. The vote paſſed merely as a matter of form, and without duly conſidering how far the ſpeaker deſerved ſuch a teſtimony of approbation. But Mr. Rigby, the paymaſter of the forces, took an opportunity, two days after, to make ſome very pointed remarks on the ſubject. He aſſerted, "that the national ſituation had been groſſly miſrepreſented in a place where nothing but truth ſhould be heard;—that the ſentiments declared at the bar of the other houſe to be thoſe of the commons, were the direct reverſe;—that for one, he totally diſclaimed them;—that he was certain a very great majority of the houſe equally did ſo;—and that, before the houſe roſe, he truſted it would be proved, whether they thought with the chair, or with him."—Mr. Rigby, however, was too late in his attempt to mortify the ſpeaker's vanity. The commons were pledged by their former vote to ſupport the chair; and they could not without incurring the reproach of the moſt flagrant inconſiſtency, undo and reprobate on the Friday, thoſe acts which they had done or applauded on the Wedneſday. Theſe points were ſtrongly urged by Mr. Fox, and by the ſpeaker himſelf, who ſaid, "that he would ſit no longer in the chair than he was ſupported in the free exerciſe of his duty; and, from the vote of approbation with which he had been honored, he had reaſon to believe, he was not chargeable with any miſrepreſentation." After a long, but very unintereſting debate, a motion made by Mr. Fox was agreed to without a diviſion, confirming the former vote, and explicitly declaring, "that the ſpeaker, in his ſpeech to the king at the bar of the houſe of peers, did expreſs, with juſt and proper energy, the zeal of the commons for the ſupport of the honor and dignity of the crown, in circumſtances of great public charge." To complete the ſpeaker's triumph in this artfully conducted ſcheme, a court of common council was induced, the week after, by ſome of the factious leaders, to reſolve, that the freedom of the city ſhould be preſented to him in a gold box, of the value of fifty

guineas. Sir Fletcher accepted the freedom, but politely declined the gold box, his pride for once prevailing over his avarice; which was the more remarkable, as this was the only occasion upon which he had ever been known to refuse either a reward or a bribe.

XXIV. In addition to what has been already observed of the principal grants voted in the committee of supply, it may be proper to give a summary of lord North's statements at the opening of the *budget* on the fourteenth of May. The sum total of the supplies, which were deemed necessary for the public service, did not fall much short of thirteen millions: the ordinary revenue, or ways and means for raising these supplies, such as the land-tax, the malt duty, the produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and other smaller resources, scarcely amounted to seven millions and a half, which left a deficiency of five millions and a half: the five millions were to be funded at an annuity of four per cent. and the remaining half million was to be raised by a lottery: the interest of the new loan, which, with a premium of one half per cent. for ten years to encourage subscribers, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, was to be paid by a tax of one guinea each on all male servants not employed in agriculture or trade; by a duty on auctioneers and on goods sold by auction; by additional stamp duties; and by additional duties on glass. Though the gentlemen of the opposition declaimed with great vehemence on "the fatal consequences of the war," and the "scandalous terms of the loan," asserting "that lord North's sole merit and boast in having made a good bargain for the public was founded on the discredit of the funds;" they were ashamed to divide either the committee, or the house, upon any of the resolutions moved by his lordship. It was, indeed, very easy to prove, from a retrospective view of the conduct of other chancellors of the exchequer, that the present bargain was one of the most advantageous which had been made for the public, when so large a sum was to be funded. The taxes were laid with so much judg-

ment,

ment, as to throw the weight chiefly upon the opulent, or, in other words, to affect property instead of labour; to hit, as Mr. Jenkinson observed, the due medium between mere luxuries and necessaries; and to embrace only the elegant conveniences of life, which were the true objects of taxation in every well regulated state. With regard to the war, lord North confessed, that the expences were great, and the burthens heavy; but they were inevitable." "The arts of designing men," he said, "had wrought upon the people of America to throw off their obedience and constitutional dependency on the mother country, and to resist her lawful authority by an appeal to arms: government had taken every step which was likely to recal the colonists to a sense of their duty: lenient measures had, however, an effect very different from what might reasonably be expected: our moderation only increased their insolence; our tenderness their disobedience; and what arose from sentiments the most indulgent and affectionate on our part, was interpreted to spring from motives which never existed: our moderation was looked upon to have proceeded from timidity; and our reluctance to employ coercive means was ascribed to an inability to support our just authority.—It was unnecessary," his lordship added, "to remind the house of the several transactions which took place from the commencement of the present disputes, till the congress avowed those sentiments which America had all along entertained, and publicly declared those objects which she had in view from the beginning. The avowal of independence cleared up what had been before involved in any doubt or obscurity; and that in such a manner, and accompanied with such striking circumstances, that a very considerable majority of the nation at large, as well without as within that house, must, upon every ground of right, justice, expediency, and sound policy, be convinced of the necessity of prosecuting the war: it remained therefore for parliament to make suitable provisions for carrying it on with vigor and effect." The resolutions, as before intimated, were agreed to without

 a division;

a division; and, a few days after, a vote of credit for another million, chargeable on the next aids, was passed to enable his majesty to defray any extra expences that might be incurred on account of military service, and to make good the charges of calling in the deficient gold coin.

XXV. A transaction of a most extraordinary nature in the East Indies, and which amounted to no less than the total subversion of established government in one of the principal settlements on the coast of Coromandel, together with several subsequent proceedings relative to it at the India house, were the means of bringing the affairs of the company once more within the cognizance of parliament. This revolution was generally ascribed to the intrigues and ambition of the nabob of Arcot, who had risen to very great power through the protection and alliance of the company, and had gradually acquired an overruling, if not boundless influence in the council at Madrass. With a view, it was said, of more effectually promoting his designs, he laid by the jealous state and distant pride of an eastern despot, and seemed to become, as nearly as could possibly be admitted, an inmate, and member of the British community at that settlement, making the outward, or *black* town, as it is called, the principal seat of his residence. Thus he was in constant possession of every transaction that passed, and even of every proposal that originated in the council; nor is it improbable that some of the measures adopted there arose from his own immediate suggestions. It is certain, that a joint enterprise, which was undertaken by the company's forces in that presidency with the nabob's, afforded too much colour to such an opinion, and unhappily contributed its full share, along with other eastern exorbitancies, deeply to affect the character of the English nation both in Europe and Asia. This was the famous expedition to Tanjore, an enterprise heard of in almost every part of the world, and condemned for its cruelty and injustice wherever it was heard. The rajah of Tanjore was one of those Gentoo princes, whose an-

cestors

ceſtors had been long in poſſeſſion of the country, and who had never been entirely ſubdued by the Mogul Tartars; but were rendered tributary to their empire, the government being otherwiſe retained in the original hands. This prince had been for many years in alliance both with the company and the nabob, and had been engaged with them in the perils and fortune of former wars. On the ſettlement of the affairs of the Eaſt Indies at the treaty of Paris, it was thought neceſſary to put an end to the diſpute between France and England, who ſupported the intereſts of different pretenders to power in that part of the world. France was accordingly obliged to admit Salabat Jing as lawful ſubah of the Decan; and Mahomet Ali Cawn, as lawful nabob of the Carnatic. The mogul readily granted, on his part, ſuch powers as were neceſſary to confirm theſe arrangements. Accounts were alſo liquidated, and a convention made under the authority and guarantee of the company between their own allies. The nabob was to be paid the arrears of, and to receive, in future, the tribute due to the mogul, for which he was to be accountable to their common ſuperior, and to have a conſiderable ſum for himſelf. The rajah was to remain in all other reſpects as before in poſſeſſion of his dominions; but a variety of tranſactions ſoon after took place between him and the nabob, and new accounts were opened, the rajah al'edging that he ought to be allowed for his expences in certain military ſervices rendered to the nabob, and the latter inſiſting on receiving immediate payment of the ſums ſtipulated under the late convention without any abatement. Theſe diſputes continued for ſome time, till the nabob prevailed on the powers at Madraſs and on the royal commiſſioners to fall in with his views; and a war, on the pretence of a delay in payment, broke out. The rajah was little able to withſtand the united force of the company and nabob. His capital being taken after a brave defence, the unhappy prince was ſtripped without pity or remorſe, of every thing but life. His kingdom was ſeized by the nabob; his treaſures were applied to

the expences of the war, and to other present purposes; whilst his subjects, who were among the most industrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conquest and government. The account of this transaction, with all the circumstances of the spoil and ruin of a friend and ally in so unexampled a manner, excited the greatest indignation of the company in England. That visible ascendency over the counsels and actions of their servants, of which the nabob had now given a very dangerous proof, was another alarming consideration. He had also removed his eldest son, a mild and moderate prince, from all power, and from the command of his armies, and placed it in the hands of his second son, a young man of a temper more congenial to his own, and possessed of ability, with a strong spirit of enterprise. Good policy, therefore, as well as justice, pointed out the propriety of setting some bounds to the nabob's ambitious career, by restoring the rajah to his dominions. The company, at the same time, were far from wishing to fall out with the nabob, if it could be avoided; nor were they disposed to urge matters to any extremity with their servants for what was past. A reparation of the outrage and wrong seemed likely to answer every purpose; but it was apprehended, that a vigorous prosecution of the delinquents would involve the company's affairs in the utmost perplexity. In order to execute so delicate a commission with equal prudence, safety, and honour, it was resolved to send out lord Pigot, as governor and president of Madrass, the company very reasonably supposing, that the appearance of such a man upon that ground which had been the scene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were still fresh and alive, and where the principal and most dangerous party was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with distinguished advantages; and that he might have performed those acts without envy or jealousy, which would have been opposed or resented in other hands. The ime that unavoidably elapsed before lord Pigot's arrival

in his government, afforded a full scope for the exercise of the nabob's ability in intrigue. Though the part already taken by the council would necessarily influence their conduct in endeavouring to support or confirm their own former act, he thought it prudent to interest them still more deeply in the measure of securing to him the perpetual possession of Tanjore. He accordingly borrowed vast sums of money from several members of the council, and some others whose weight and concurrence might be requisite for the completion of his scheme; and directly or indirectly mortgaged to them the revenues of Tanjore, as a security both for the principal, and for a prodigious interest arising on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. Lord Pigot did not reach Madrass till the latter end of the year 1775; but notwithstanding the previous measures which had been taken, and the violent opposition he experienced, he succeeded so far as to restore the rajah to the just possession of his ancient and hereditary dominions. His lordship had now to encounter the mortal enmity of the nabob, and a corrupt combination of the majority of the council, who were farther strengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The disputes grew hotter from day to day; and the cabals with the nabob grew closer and closer. It was of the greatest moment to send a proper officer to Tanjore. The opposition part of the council first agreed with the governor on the measure, and the designation of the person. They soon changed their minds about the latter, and insisted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do every thing, regardless of the governor's opinion or dissent. Lord Pigot, finding them actuated by no other principle than that of traversing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, took a very bold step, for which nothing but the exigency of the moment could afford any excuse; and having put the question, carried the suspension of two of the council by his own casting vote. He also put sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the forces,

under an arrest for disobedience of his supreme authority in the fortress. Instead of waiting the decision of the company on these measures, a plot was formed by the offended party for seizing the person of the president, and for effecting a complete revolution in their own favor. In consequence of the arrest laid upon sir Robert Fletcher, colonel Stuart succeeded to the command of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the highest state of intimacy and friendship with lord Pigot, he notwithstanding entered deeply into the views of the conspirators; and as any military violence offered to the governor within the precincts of the fortress would involve the actors in the penalties of the mutiny laws, the colonel inveigled him to quit the only situation which could afford him security. Having, on the twenty third of August 1776, spent the fore part of the day with his lordship, he took occasion from the excessive heat of the weather to recommend in the evening a cool retreat to a villa at a small distance from Madrass, appropriated to the use of the governors; and made an offer of his own company, as a farther inducement. In the way, they were surrounded, as had been concerted by an officer and party of sepoys, both in the company's service, when, under the auspices and immediate hands of his late companion and guest, the governor was thrust out of his chaise, with circumstances of not less rudeness than violence, and carried prisoner to a place called the Mount, where he was confined under a strong military guard. His enemies now seized all the powers of government, appointing their principal leader to be his successor, and copying the very act on which their chief complaints against him were founded, by removing from the council such members as had voted with him in the former struggle. Both parties sent confidential persons as expresses to England, the one to arraign, and the other to justify the late proceedings. Even the nabob had an agent in London, who left no means untried to secure effectual support both at the India House and in parliament. But in spite of all the efforts of corruption

and

and intrigue, so great was the indignation of the company in general at the conduct of the conspirators, that when the whole business was formally laid before the proprietors at their quarterly court, on the twenty sixth of March 1777, they agreed to a resolution, which was afterwards confirmed on a ballot by a majority of 382 to 140, recommending to the court of directors, " to take the most effectual measures for restoring lord Pigot to the full exercise of the powers vested in him by the company; —and for inquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his imprisonment." Though several of the directors had been gained over to the opposite interest, they could not avoid acting in seeming conformity to this recommendation, while they were secretly determined to render it nugatory. Several resolutions were accordingly passed at a court held the eleventh of April, by which lord Pigot was restored to the full exercise of the office and powers, from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been driven from their seats, were reinstated; and the seven members of the council, including the commander in chief, who had violently overthrown the government by a militaryforce, were suspended from the company's service: but to these was added a vote of censure on lord Pigot's conduct; and while instructions were preparing to accompany the resolutions, every possible impediment was thrown in the way to retard or embarrass the business. The main subject appeared to be almost forgotten in a variety of other disputes. At length, under the imposing shew of an attempt to please all parties, to reconcile all differences, and to administer impartial justice, three new resolutions were proposed; and, to the astonishment of the public, the question in favor of them was carried, at another general court of the proprietors on the ninth of May, by a majority of 414 to 317. By the first of these resolutions, after reprobating the treatment which lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary restoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an inquiry into his conduct:

conduct: by the second, his friends in the council were ordered home: and by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewise recalled. Such glaring inconsistency in the proceedings at the India House prompted governor Johnstone to bring the matter before parliament on the twenty-second of the same month, and to move for several resolutions, which went to a strong approbation of lord Pigot's conduct; to a confirmation of those acts of the company that had been either passed in his favor, or in condemnation of the factious party at Madrass; and to annul the late incongruous resolution for his recal. On these, if carried, the mover intended to found a bill for better securing the English settlements in the East Indies. The motion was opposed by the friends of administration, though most of the principals were absent, perhaps from an unwillingness to take any share in the debate. It certainly did lord North very little honor to exert himself in supporting the absurd and venal resolution of the court of proprietors.— All the force of argument, all the powers of eloquence seemed to be confined to the speakers of the minority on this occasion. Mr. Fox, in particular, excited such sudden and extraordinary bursts of applause, as had never before been heard in a British house of commons. Yet, when a division took place at one o'clock in the morning, the numbers were only 67, in favor of governor Johnstone's motion, against 90, by whom it was rejected. The unfortunate nobleman, whose conduct and whose sufferings were the chief subject of the debate, did not live to feel the additional sting of parliamentary injustice. Eleven days before this decision, he fell a victim to the rigours of confinement, to the insults and cruelty of his enemies; but retained to the last moment that dignity and firmness of character, for which he had been so eminently distinguished.*

XXVI.

* This affair in all its circumstances was again brought before the house of commons, on the sixteenth of April 1779, when admiral Pigot, the deceased lord's brother, after stating in a series of resolutions,

the

XXVI. The attention of parliament was now called off from the confuſions of the eaſt to the more preſſing concerns of the weſtern world. On the thirtieth of May, the lords having been previouſly ſummoned for the purpoſe, a motion was made by the earl of Chatham, "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, adviſing him to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to the preſent unnatural war againſt the colonies, upon the only juſt and ſolid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." His lordſhip, though bowed down by age and infirmity, and bearing a crutch in each hand, exerted himſelf with all the fire and vigor of youth,—with all the energy of a mind ſeemingly inſuſceptible of decay. "By the removal of accumulated grievances," ſaid he, "I mean the repeal of every oppreſſive act which has been paſſed ſince the year 1763. I would put our brethren in America preciſely on the ſame footing they ſtood at that period.— This will open the way for treaty: it will be the harbinger of peace to the afflicted colonies; and will convince them, that parliament is ſincerely diſpoſed to re-

the principal facts relative to the cataſtrophe, concluded with moving an addreſs to his majeſty, praying, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his attorney-general to proſecute George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, eſquires, for ordering their governor, lord Pigot, to be arreſted and confined under a military force; they being returned to England, and now within the juriſdiction of his majeſty's courts of Weſtminſter Hall." Stratton, the ringleader of theſe conſpirators, was, at this critical inſtant of time, perſonally preſent in his place, as a member of the houſe of commons; and entered into a long defence of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues. But his vindication appeared ſo unſatisfactory, that admiral Pigot's reſolutions were carried and the addreſs agreed to unanimouſly. In the ſequel, however, the delinquents, though convicted in the court of King's Bench, were ſentenced only to pay a trifling fine.

conciliation.

conciliation. We have tried for unconditional submission: let us now try what may be gained by unconditional redress. To conquer the Americans is impossible—You cannot do it—I may as well pretend to drive them before me with this crutch.—I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment.—Besides, my lords, could those hopes be even realised, and should you conquer America, you conquer under the cannon of France, under a masked battery then ready to open.—The pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. The latter is not the less probable, because professions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languishes, while her taxes increase and her revenues diminish, France is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which is the basis of your power."—The motion, though well supported by the duke of Grafton, by lord Camden, and the earl of Shelburne, was opposed by a very considerable majority, for several strong and important reasons. In the first place, it arraigned the conduct of the nation, and condemned measures which had repeatedly received the sanction both of parliament and people: it held out nothing new, and was nothing more than a repetition of what had been often proposed, and as often rejected in that house: oppressive acts, or particular grievances were no longer the subject of dispute; the great question now at issue was the supremacy of Great Britain, and the subordinate dependence of America: to shake off the controul of the mother country was the primary object with the colonists; and their present opposition was merely the effect of a premeditated design of several years standing: in such a disposition and determination on their side, it was affirmed that all concession on ours would be not only fruitless, but ridiculous and degrading: it would draw upon us the contempt of our friends,

and

and excite into action the design or malice of our enemies.—The lords in administration denied any danger from France, and asserted, that the assistance given to the Americans proceeded neither from the court nor the cabinet, but from the spirit of military enterprise and commercial adventure. They treated the idea thrown out by lord Chatham, respecting the conduct of France, as the most extraordinary, or rather the most extravagant that ever was heard. "The noble earl tells us," said the president of the council, "that if we conquer America, we will conquer it for France: if France should join America against us, and get the better of us, America, though successful, will nevertheless be conquered, and become a province or dependency of France: and though we neither conquer, nor are conquered, still America will be lost to England, and fall to our enemies and rivals. If I had no other objection to the present motion than the picture it would exhibit to foreign nations of our pretended imbecility and the desperate situation of our affairs, that alone would be sufficient with me to give it a most hearty negative."—The motion was rejected by 99 voices against 28; and parliament was prorogued the week after.

XXVII. No equal space of time for several years past afforded so little domestic matter worthy of observation, as the interval between the rising of parliament on the sixth of June and its meeting again on the twentieth of November. Neither the town nor the country presented any new object of curiosity, of surprise, of public concern, or of party contention. But this barrenness of interesting occurrences at home was amply compensated by the accounts every day received of events of the campaign in America. It began early in the spring with small enterprises, which were conducted with great spirit, and were then looked upon as happy preludes to more enlarged plans of operation. A detachment of five hundred men, under the command of colonel Bird, was sent on board some transports on the twenty-third of March, and orded to pro-

ceed

ceed to New York about fifty miles up the North River to Peek's Kill, which served as a kind of port to a mountainous tract, called the manor of Courland, where the Americans, during the winter, had erected mills, and established their principal magazines. The enemy, though superior in number, retired to a strong pass at about two miles distance, but not before they set fire to the barracks and storehouses. The British troops, upon their landing, could only complete the conflagration which it was not in their power to prevent; and, after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned to New York. This service, however, was far from filling up the outline of the commander in chief's design. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the magnitude and importance he had been led to expect; and something, if possible, must still be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their resources. He obtained intelligence that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courland Manor. It was therefore resolved to undertake another expedition against those parts; and the conduct of it was intrusted to governor Tryon, who had been lately promoted to the rank of major general of the loyalists, as a reward for his activity in raising and disciplining considerable bodies of them. The governor was accompanied by brigadier-general Agnew and sir William Erskine, two officers well qualified to supply any deficiency of his military talents. Two thousand men, drafted for this purpose from different regiments, being passed through the sound under convoy of two frigates, were landed on the twenty-fifth of April about twenty miles to the southward of Danbury. At ten o'clock at night they began their march to that place, and arrived there next morning, the enemy being totally unprepared either to impede their progress, or to oppose their entrance. But they soon perceived that the country was rising to intercept their return; and as they had neither time, opportunity, nor carriages to bring off the

stores

ſtores and proviſions, they proceeded without delay to the deſtruction of the magazine. The town was alſo reduced to aſhes. A day having been unavoidably ſpent in the execution of this ſervice, the American generals Wooſter, Arnold, and Silliman, haſtily collecting ſuch militia as were within their reach, made uſe of every ſtratagem and effort to cut off the retreat of the detachment. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, Wooſter was mortally wounded; and though Arnold, by croſſing the country, had gained an advantageous poſt at Ridgefield, and had thrown up ſome intrenchments to cover his front, he found the courage and diſcipline of the Britiſh troops irreſiſtible. The village was forced; the Americans were driven back on every ſide; and their commander himſelf, after ſome extraordinary acts of perſonal valour, had a very narrow eſcape. It being then late in the evening, general Tryon and his men lay on their arms, that night; but as ſoon as they reſumed their route at day-break, the enemy, having been reinforced with troops and cannon, aſſailed them from all quarters. Upon every advantage of ground, their main body attacked the foremoſt ranks with great reſolution, whilſt hovering parties on the flanks and rear continually endeavoured to diſturb the order of the march, and to prevent the poſſibility of any regular or general engagement. At length the royal forces gained the hill of Compo, within half a mile of the ſhipping, and there formed immediately upon the high ground, as two diſtant bodies of the Americans ſeemed to be preparing for a deſperate onſet. Sir William Erſkine, placing himſelf at the head of four hundred of the moſt able of the detachment, charged the enemy with the bayonet, and ſo completely routed the two columns, that the Britiſh troops were ſuffered to re-imbark without any farther annoyance. Large quantities of corn, flour, and ſalt proviſions, about two thouſand tents, with various military ſtores and neceſſaries, were deſtroyed in the courſe of this expedition. The loſs of men on the royal ſide was not near ſo conſiderable as might have been expected from their expoſed ſituation

in this harassing march; the whole in killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to one hundred and seventy-two, of whom more than two-thirds were wounded. The general loss on the American side was more than double, and the number of the slain about four to one: among the latter were three field officers, besides general Wooster, and some other people of consequence.

XXVIII. It was perhaps in return for this last expedition, the effect of which was severely felt by the Americans, that the Connecticut men, not long after, paid a visit to Long Island. Having received intelligence, that commissaries had for some time been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited at a little port called Saggy Harbour, the distance of that place from New York, and the weakness of the protection which consisted only of a company of foot and an armed schooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a design to frustrate that scheme of supplying the wants of the army. Colonel Meigs, an active officer, who had attended Arnold to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprise. Having on the twenty-third of May crossed the sound with a detachment of about a hundred and fifty men in whale-boats, he first landed on the north branch of the island; and, after carrying the boats over an arm of land, embarked again, and landed on the south branch of the island, within four miles of Saggy Harbour. They arrived at this place before break of day; and notwithstanding the resistance they met with from the guard, and the vigorous efforts of the schooner which kept up a fire of round and grape shot at a hundred and fifty yards distance, they fully completed their design, having burnt a dozen brigs and sloops that lay at the wharf, and destroyed every thing that was deposited on the shore. They also brought off with them about ninety prisoners, including the officer on duty with his men, and the crews of the small vessels which they had destroyed. In the American account of this expedi-

tion,

tion, a circumſtance is mentioned as a fact, which, however, requires ſome credulity to be admitted. The party are ſaid to have returned to Guilford in Connecticut, in twenty-five hours from the time of their departure, having, during that ſpace, not only effectually accompliſhed the object of their enterpriſe, but having traverſed no leſs by land and by water than ninety miles.

XXIX. From the account given, at the cloſe of the laſt chapter, of the ſituation of the troops under lord Cornwallis at Brunſwick and Amboy during the winter, ſome idea may be formed of the hardſhips they muſt have ſuffered from the ſeverity of the weather, the difficulty of obtaining proviſions and forage, and the unremitting duty occaſioned by the nearneſs of the enemy, and by the frequent attempts made on both ſides to ſurpriſe each other's outpoſts. Though the Americans were defeated in almoſt every encounter, yet theſe ſkirmiſhes gradually inured them to military ſervice. About the latter end of May, congreſs were enabled to ſend large ſupplies of men from the different provinces to general Waſhington, who, on receiving this re-inforcement, quitted his former camp at Morris-town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong country along Middle Brook, which was ſecured by every means both of natural and artificial defence, and commanded at the ſame time a full view of all the motions of his adverſaries. The army at New York was not able to take the field till June, for want of tent and field equipage, which at length arriving from England, with a body of Anſpach troops and ſome Britiſh and German recruits, ſir William Howe paſſed over in full force to the Jerſeys, reſolved to try all poſſible means of inducing Waſhington to quit his faſtneſſes, and to hazard an engagement. But the American commander penetrated into his deſigns, and eluded them by his cool, collected, and prudent conduct. Finding every other manœuvre ineffectual, ſir William, after having continued four days in front of the enemy's lines, retreated on the nineteenth of June, with marks of ſeeming precipitation.—

He ordered the whole army to fall back from Brunſwick to Amboy. This movement had all the immediate effect that could have been expected. Several large bodies under the command of the generals Maxwell, Conway, and lord Stirling, ruſhed on to haraſs the rear. Such trifling advantages as the beſt regulated retreat muſt afford to the purſuers, and ſome exceſſes committed perhaps with a view to the general deſign by the retiring ſoldiers, increaſed the ardour and inflamed the paſſions of the Americans. Another meaſure adopted by the Britiſh general at Amboy ſerved to complete the deluſion. He threw a bridge over the channel that ſeparates Staten Iſland from the continent; and a part of the troops having croſſed with the heavy baggage, the reſt of the army ſeemed juſt ready to follow; ſo that every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, to make the Americans believe, that the retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their ſuperiority, and a dread of their power. Even Waſhington himſelf, with all his caution, was ſo far impoſed upon by this feint, that he left his almoſt inacceſſible poſts upon the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, to be the nearer at hand, for the protection or ſupport of his advanced parties. The Britiſh general loſt no time in endeavouring to profit by theſe circumſtances. He marched the army back by different routes with the utmoſt expedition, in hopes of cutting off ſome of thoſe parties that had been moſt eager in the purſuit, and of coming up with the main body at Quibble-town; or, if theſe ſchemes failed through the celerity of the enemy, it was intended that lord Cornwallis, with his column, ſhould take a conſiderable circuit to the right, and ſtrive to get poſſeſſion of ſome paſſes in the mountains, which, by their ſituation and command of ground, would have reduced Waſhington to the neceſſity of abandoning that ſtrong camp, which had hitherto afforded him ſo advantageous a ſecurity. In the proſecution of this part of the plan, his lordſhip fell in with a large detachment of the enemy, amounting in number to about three thou-

ſand,

ſand, under the command of lord Stirling and general Maxwell. They were ſtrongly poſted, and well provided with artillery; but being unable long to ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the attack, they gave way on all ſides, and were purſued as far as Weſtfield, where the woods and the intenſe heat of the day put a ſtop to the career of the victorious troops. In this action and flight the Americans loſt two hundred men and three pieces of braſs cannon. General Waſhington ſoon perceived his error, and as ſpeedily remedied it, by regaining his ſtation on the hills, and ſecuring thoſe paſſes which were the grand object of lord Cornwallis's enterpriſe. Sir William Howe, being now convinced, that any new ſcheme of bringing the Americans to an engagement would be not only fruitleſs, but a waſte of that time and ſeaſon which might be employed to great advantage elſewhere, reſolved to retire from the Jerſeys, and to convey his army by ſea into the very heart of Penſylvania. Accordingly, on the twenty eighth of June, he returned with all the forces to Amboy, and next day croſſed over to Staten Iſland, whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

XXX. During the ceſſation produced by preparations on the one ſide, and a general alarm on the other from the impoſſibility of knowing where the ſtorm would fall, a ſpirited adventure was undertaken by an American colonel of the name of Barton, which had for its object the carrying off general Preſcot who commanded at Rhode Iſland, and thereby not only retaliating the ſurpriſe of general Lee, but alſo procuring an indemnification for his perſon. The Britiſh general's head quarters were on the weſt ſide of the iſland, about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore. He was guarded by only one centinal at a time; and as there was not any body of troops within a mile of him, nor any patroles along the ſhore, he muſt have depended ſolely on a guard-ſhip that lay in the bay, oppoſite to his quarters. Colonel Barton, being acquainted with theſe circumſtances, ſet out from Providence, with ſome officers and ſoldiers, in two boats, keeping cloſe to the iſland, till he came to the ſouth end,

where he remained till dark, and then proceeded acroſs the bay, and landed near the general's quarters about midnight. The centinel was ſurpriſed; the general was taken out of bed; and, without being ſuffered to put on his clothes, was hurried on board one of the boats. The boat paſſed under the ſtern of the Britiſh guard-ſhip without being perceived, and conveyed the general in ſafety to Providence. He was much blamed for his imprudence, in truſting himſelf ſo far from the troops under his command, and not adopting proper means of ſecurity. He had alſo been weak enough to provoke ſome ſuch attempt by offering a reward for taking Arnold, as if he had been a common out-law;—a ſilly inſult, which Arnold immediately returned, by ſetting an inferior price upon Preſcot's perſon. Sir William Howe had hitherto ſteadily refuſed to releaſe general Lee on any conditions whatever; but the capture of general Preſcot obliged him to give up that point, and Lee was in a ſhort time reſtored to the American cauſe.

XXXI. On the twenty-third of July, the army, leaving a ſufficient force under general Clinton for the defence of New York, and ſeven battalions at Rhode Iſland, ſailed with the fleet from Sandy Hook; and after a tedious voyage, landed at Elk Ferry, at the head of Cheſapeak Bay. Waſhington, who had been for ſome weeks in anxious ſuſpenſe as to the deſtination of the troops, upon this intelligence took poſſeſſion of the heights on the eaſtern ſide of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delaware below Philadelphia, with an intention to diſpute the paſſage. By day-break on the eleventh of September the Britiſh army advanced in two columns, the right commanded by general Knyphauſen, marching directly to Chadsford; and the other column, under lord Cornwallis, taking a circuit to the left in order to croſs the *forks* of the Brandy-wine, and attack the enemy on the right flank. Both were in a conſiderable degree ſucceſsful; the firſt after a ſevere conflict forcing the paſſage of the ford, and the latter routing the right wing commanded by general Sullivan. The

approach

approach of night, and sir William Howe's usual tardiness, or rather neglect to push his advantages next morning, prevented the total destruction of the American army. About three hundred of them were killed in the action, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred taken prisoners: they also lost several pieces of artillery.* Not above one hundred of the British were killed, and four hundred wounded. Had an early and vigorous pursuit been ordered next day, it was confidently asserted, that the small and confused parties of the runaways must have been cut off, and that even Washington and the corps he kept together, with whom he remained for the whole night at Chester, only eight miles from the field of battle, would have been intercepted in their retreat to Philadelphia, as it was twenty-three miles distant from them, though no more than eighteen miles from the British camp. Sir William Howe permitted him not only to march without the least annoyance to Philadelphia, but to remain there unmolested for three days, collecting as many of his routed troops as he possibly could, and recruiting from his magazines the stores he had lost in battle. This valuable time was employed by the British commander in cautious, but, at such a juncture, extremely unseasonable and unnecessary movements.

XXXII. Intelligence having been received on the twentieth of September, that general Wayne had concealed himself in the woods, with fifteen hundred men, upon some scheme of harassing the left wing or the rear of the British army on their march, major-general Grey was detached at night, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprise that corps. His skill and energy were very conspicuous in this enterprise. He gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that his men should trust solely to the silent effect of the bayonet. The enemy's outposts were completely surprised, without

* The marquis de la Fayette, at that time only nineteen years of age, who had recently entered as a volunteer into the American service, was wounded in this action.

the

the leaſt noiſe, at one in the morning; and the Britiſh troops, guided by the light of their fires, ruſhed in upon the encampment, where a dreadful ſlaughter took place, about three hundred being killed or wounded upon the ſpot, and a number of priſoners taken, the remainder eſcaping by the darkneſs of the night, but with the loſs of all their baggage and ſtores. Only one officer and three private men were killed on the ſide of the victors, with the the ſame number wounded. Three days after, the whole army paſſed the Schuylkill without oppoſition, and there being nothing now to impede their progreſs, they advanced on the twenty-ſixth to German-town, a village about ſeven miles from the capital of the province, where the main body formed an encampment. Next morning lord Cornwallis, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, took peaceable poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, the congreſs having removed their ſittings to York Town in Virginia, and general Waſhington having alſo withdrawn to Skippach Creek, a ſtrong poſt about ſixteen miles from the Britiſh head quarters.

XXXIII. No ſooner did lord Howe receive intelligence of theſe ſucceſſes, than he moved round with the fleet from the Cheſapeak to the Delaware, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavoured to render impracticable by works and batteries conſtructed on a low, marſhy iſland, formed near the the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; and on the oppoſite ſhore, by a redoubt and intrenchment at a place called Red-bank. Acroſs the mid-channel they had in various parts ſunk large tranſverſe beams, bolted together, and ſtrongly headed with iron pikes pointing in various directions, to which, from the reſemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux-de-frize*. Dr. Frenklin is ſaid to have aſſiſted in the contrivance of the whole machinery, before his departure for France. To remove theſe obſtructions, ſo as to open a communication between the fleet and the army, was an object of the utmoſt importance; but it could not be accompliſhed without previouſly reducing the forts, by which they

were

were defended. Some strong parties were therefore employed on this service: three regiments had been left at Chester, for the purpose of securing the conveyance of stores and provisions; and the detachment under lord Cornwallis at Philadelphia consisted of four battalions of grenadiers and a squadron of light horse. General Washington hearing of this dispersion of the British forces, and having been himself lately strengthened by the arrival of fifteen hundred troops from Peck's Kill, and a thousand Virginians, formed the design of surprising the camp at German Town. With this view he left Skippach Creek at six in the evening of the third of October, and marching all night, began his attack just at daybreak. The fortieth regiment, which lay at the head of the village, being overpowered by numbers, was under the necessity of retreating; but their brave commander, lieutenant colonel Musgrave, by his address and activity contrived to keep five companies together, and took post with them in a large stone house, which lay full in the front of the enemy. This gallant conduct arrested the Americans in their career, and in the event prevented the separation of the right and left wings, while it afforded time to the whole line to get under arms. The colonel and his party, though surrounded by a brigade, who at length brought up four pieces of cannon to the assault, maintained their post with undaunted courage, pouring a dreadful and incessant fire through the windows, till they were relieved by major general Grey and three battalions of the left wing, who were vigorously supported by brigadier general Agnew at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement for some time was very warm, when a part of the right wing pouring down upon the enemy from the opposite side of the village, they retired with great precipitation, but made good their retreat, with all their artillery, under cover of a thick fog, which rendered it difficult for the British troops to discover their movements. The loss of the Americans in this action was supposed to amount to between two and three hundred killed, six hundred wounded,

ed, and above four hundred made prisoners. General Nash and several inferior officers were among the slain. The British troops also suffered severely. About seventy were killed, and in that number unhappily were brigadier-general Agnew and lieutenant-colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. A few only were taken prisoners; but the number of the wounded fell little short of four hundred and fifty.

XXXIV. Measures being soon after concerted between sir William Howe and his brother for removing the obstructions of the river, and the British army having withdrawn from German Town to the vicinity of Philadelphia, for the greater convenience of situation, a strong body of Hessians was sent over Cowper's Ferry on the twenty-second of October to storm the fortress of Red-bank, whilst the ships and batteries on the other side were to carry on their attacks against Mud Island, and against several gallies and armed vessels which the enemy had stationed there. Though nothing could exceed the good dispositions made for these several attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage displayed both by the land and naval forces on their different elements, yet the enterprise not only failed of success, but was in every respect unfortunate. The Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and the men of war and frigates, though they made their way through the lower barrier, could not bring their fire to bear, with any great effect, either on the principal works, or on the enemy's marine. The Augusta man of war and Merlin sloop were stranded in avoiding the *chevaux-de-frize*, and the Augusta was by accident blown up, but the greater part of the officers and crew were saved. On the fifteenth of November, the attack was renewed with a more formidable force; and the artillery of the enemy being completely silenced towards evening, the garrison retired in the night across the river in boats to Red-bank, which was also soon after evacuated. The *chevaux-de-frize* were now weighed with no small difficulty, and the free navigation of the

Delaware

Delaware was restored; but as winter was advancing very fast, no farther military or naval enterprises of moment were attempted in that quarter during the short remainder of the season*.

XXXV. The operations in the southern or central provinces, however extensive, did not include all the great objects of the campaign. The war on the side of Canada and the Lakes was to be renewed with double vigour. Its conduct was intrusted to general Burgoyne, who had passed the preceding winter in England, and after concerting with the ministry the plan of the intended expedition, returned early in the spring to America, with a commission appointing him commander in chief of the northern army beyond the limits of Canada. This appointment must have given the justest offence to sir

* Sir William Howe has been very severely, and perhaps too justly censured for his inaction. Washington had removed to the distance of about twenty-six miles, and taken post at a place called Valley Forge, where his soldiers, who were equally destitute of tents and of proper winter clothing, had no resource but to build huts in the woods, to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather: a dreadful mortality raged in his hospitals; and the supplies of provisions were extremely scanty and precarious: his numbers were also reduced by perpetual desertions, so that in three months he had not four thousand men, and these by no means to be termed effective. He continued in this infirm and dangerous state from December to May, during all which time his camp might have been stormed or besieged, with the most inviting probability of success. But sir William Howe, with fourteen thousand well-appointed troops, lay quiet at Philadelphia, where the whole winter was spent in dissipation. A want of discipline and proper subordination pervaded his army; and if hunger and disease thinned the Americans at Valley Forge, indolence and luxury did no less injury to the British forces at Philadelphia. Fortune had placed the enemy within their grasp; but their dilatory commander seemed unwilling to seize the proffered advantage.

Guy

Guy Carleton, who, in all the complex and hazardous operations of the former campaign, had acted with equal vigour, judgment, and success. From his long residence in Canada, he knew more accurately than general Burgoyne the situation of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the extent of its resources; and he united greater authority with more military experience. He would have been more aware of the difficulties to be encountered, and better prepared to surmount them. But general Burgoyne happened to be a member of parliament; and it was one of lord North's greatest weaknesses, one of those miserable expedients which he too often substituted for grandeur of design, to bestow some of the most important employments, both military and naval, on men who were in the habits of opposing his measures with the greatest asperity. Thus the dearest interests of his country were frequently sacrificed to the pitiful policy of securing himself, or of weakening the force of parliamentary attack. It is but justice, however, to the minister to observe, that nothing was wanting on his part to promote the success of the expedition in other respects. A large body of veteran troops was sent from England well provided with every necessary; and great quantities of warlike stores were also transmitted, in order to supply those inhabitants who were expected to declare in favor of the British cause. General Burgoyne's utmost wish was confined to eight thousand regulars, a corps of watermen, two thousand Canadians, and a thousand savages. When he mustered his army in Canada, he found himself at the head of seven thousand one hundred and seventy-three British and German troops, exclusive of the corps of artillery: the other subordinate auxiliaries exceeded the number he had required, particularly with respect to the Indians, several nations of whom, inhabiting the back settlements of the province and the borders of the Lakes, had resolved to take up arms against the Americans. The acceptance of their services has been loudly condemned as abhorrent to religion

and

and humanity; but it may be urged in extenuation of the ſeeming atrocity of the meaſure, that general Burgoyne was induced to adopt it from a knowledge of their character, and a well-grounded ſuppoſition that, if he refuſed their offers, they would inſtantly join the enemy.

XXXVI. All the neceſſary preparations being completed, general Burgoyne and his army ſet out from St. John's on the ſixteenth of June, and proceeding up Lake Champlain, landed a little to the northward of Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congreſs; and, in compliance with their cuſtoms, gave them a war-feaſt, and made a ſpeech to them, the deſign of which was to direct their military ardor to proper objects, and to mitigate their natural ferocity. He ſoon after iſſued a proclamation or manifeſto, in which he ſtrove to inſpire the contumacious with terror, and to revive in their minds every latent impreſſion of fear, derived from a knowledge of the cruel operations of the ſavages, whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe on their prey deſcribed with uncommon energy: the force of that great power, which was now ſpread by ſea and land to embrace or to cruſh every part of America, was diſplayed in lofty, or rather bombaſtic language: the rebellion with its effects, and the conduct of the preſent governors were charged with the higheſt colouring, and exhibited a moſt hideous picture of unparalleled injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution, and tyranny: encouragement and employment were aſſured to thoſe, who, with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould aſſiſt in re-eſtabliſhing legal government: protection and ſecurity were held out to the peaceable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations; and all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their moſt dreadful forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility. Such impolitic menaces, to give them the ſofteſt name, had no other effect than that of rouſing the indignation of the rebels, and impelling them to the moſt deſperate reſiſtance.

XXXVII. After a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, the

army embarked again on the lake, and continued their course to Ticonderoga. Here the Americans appeared to be in great force, and had bestowed infinite labour in repairing the old works and adding new; so that the siege of the fortress was considered as an enterprise of no small hazard and difficulty. But on the approach of the English and their erection of such works as were necessary for the investment of the place, it was suddenly evacuated in the night of the fifth of July, the garrison retreating by land, and sending their baggage, provisions, and stores in batteaux up the South river to Skenesborough. No sooner had the first dawn discovered the flight of the enemy, than preparations were made for a vigorous pursuit both by land and water. The greatest part of their naval force was captured or destroyed by general Burgoyne near the falls of Skenesborough; and the rear of the fugitive army was overtaken next morning, and entirely defeated by brigadier-general Frazer, after an obstinate action in which the British had about a hundred and twenty killed and wounded, but no officer of rank except major Grant: the Americans lost their colonel, besides several other officers, and above two hundred men killed: about the same number were taken prisoners; and it was supposed that not less than six hundred wounded died in the woods: the van, commanded by general St. Clair, fled with the utmost precipitation to Fort Edward on the North or Hudson's River, where general Schuyler, commander in chief of the American northern army, had fixed his head quarters.

XXXVIII. General Burgoyne rested his troops for some days at Skenesborough, and then set off with an intention of taking the road that leads to Hudson's River, and thence to Albany, in order to open a communication with Lake George, on which he had embarked the heavy artillery and baggage. In this undertaking the men had infinite difficulties to encounter. Swamps and morasses were to be passed, and bridges to be constructed not only over creeks, but over ravines and gullies. The roads were also to be cleared of forest trees, which had been

cut

cut down for the purposes of obstruction, and were laid across with their branches interwoven. Notwithstanding all these obstacles in a sultry season of the year, and in a close country, which the numerous insects render almost intolerable to Europeans, the royal army endured the fatigue with the utmost chearfulness. Their commander was justly blamed for putting their spirit and perseverance to so trying and so useless a proof, when, by returning to Ticonderoga, and embarking again on Lake George, he might easily and far more expeditiously have proceeded to Fort George, whence there was a waggon-road to the place of his destination, Fort Edward. But he said, "that a retrograde motion would have checked the vigor and animation of his troops." It was fortunate, however, that the enemy were at that time incapable of making any attempts to harass them in their march; but the delay occasioned by so ill-chosen a route afforded the Americans time to recover from their first panic, and to recruit their strength. On the advance of the British troops, they retreated down the river to Saratoga, where general Schuyler was joined by a re-inforcement of men and artillery under the command of Arnold; after which the whole body was judiciously posted in a central situation, on an island in the shape of an half-moon, called Still Water, about eight miles from Albany. General Burgoyne's army did not reach Fort Edward till the thirtieth of July; but the joy with which the sight of the North River, so long the object of their hopes and wishes, inspired the troops, seemed to be considered as an ample compensation for their time and labours. They now bent all their efforts to bring forward provisions and stores from Fort George, in order to form a magazine for their subsistence in their farther progress through the wild, uncultivated country they had yet to traverse. So ineffectual, however, were their utmost exertions, that on the fifteenth of August they had only four days provision in store; and the general, understanding that large supplies of cattle, corn, and other necessaries for the use of the enemy, were collected at Bennington, about twenty

four miles to the eastward of Hudson's river, detached colonel Baum at the head of six hundred men to surprise the place, he himself moving with the rest of the army up the eastern bank of the river, and encamping nearly opposite to Saratoga. The colonel finding his destination discovered, and his force wholly inadequate to the purpose, halted on the second day's march within seven miles of Bennington, whence he communicated intelligence of his situation to general Burgoyne, who sent another party of five hundred Germans, under lieutenant colonel Breyman, to his assistance. But the commanding officer at Bennington, being now joined by a body of a thousand men from New Hampshire and Massachuset, who happened to be then on their route to general Schuyler's camp, advanced with the utmost rapidity, surrounded colonel Baum's small corps, forced their intrenchments, made themselves masters of their cannon, and after a brave resistance in which Baum and the greater part of his associates fell, compelled the rest to take shelter in the woods. Breyman, ignorant of this disaster, came up just in time to join the fugitives of the former detachment; and being suddenly attacked, was hardly able to effect a retreat, even with the loss of his artillery, and with ranks dreadfully diminished. Six hundred men were sacrificed in this unfortunate expedition, the certain issue of which had been strongly pointed out to the commander in chief before it was undertaken*. In the mean time, colonel St. Leger, who commanded a separate corps on the Mo-

* A loyalist, who was to accompany colonel Baum as his guide, stated to general Burgoyne that the expedition required a force of not less than 3000 men; for the roads were very bad, and the tardiness of the German method of marching would, he knew, enable the enemy to prepare for their reception. The idea of sending Germans on a service, which required the utmost rapidity of motion, was also opposed by several English officers, and particularly by general Frazer, who not only remonstrated with the commander in chief, but even reduced his remonstrance to writing.

hawk

hawk River, and had in conjunction with sir John Johnson and a great body of Indians invested Fort Stanwix, was obliged by the desertion of the savages to raise the siege, leaving behind him his artillery and stores.

XXXIX. At this period, general Gates was appointed to supersede Schuyler in the command of the northern army, which was now become formidable in numbers, and was also in high spirits on account of the late successes. General Burgoyne, having by unremitting industry collected about thirty days provisions, resolved to cross the river, which he effected by means of a bridge of boats, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of September, and encamped on the heights of Saratoga, the enemy not receding from their position at Still Water. His farther movements were greatly retarded by a heavy train of artillery, and by the almost impassable state of the roads, in consequence of some late heavy rains, besides their being intersected with creeks, which made a continual repair of bridges unavoidable. At length, on the nineteenth of September, the Americans advanced a small distance from their camp to meet the royal army; and, after an action, which continued from three in the afternoon till sun set, and has seldom been surpassed either in vigour of attack or firmness and intrepidity of resistance, the British troops were left masters of the field of battle, but without deriving any other advantage from the encounter, the loss on each side being nearly equal, and the Americans having retired, not because they were conquered, but because the close of day-light made a retreat to their camp necessary. The royal army lay all night on their arms, and in the morning took a position within cannon-shot of the enemy, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left to the banks of the river. But their force was considerably weakened by the disinclination of the savages to stay any longer. They had been disappointed in their hopes of plunder; and the check which had been received near Bennington and at Fort Stanwix, as well as the late sharp and undecisive contest, chilled the ardor and enthusiasm which they had at first

 manifested,

manifested. The season for hunting was also arrived; and never do they on any pretence forego it. They accordingly withdrew their assistance, and deserted general Burgoyne, deaf to every consideration of honor, and unmoved by any representations made to them of the distress in which their secession would involve him. At this crisis, he received a letter in cipher from general Clinton, informing him of a design to make a diversion in his favour by an expedition up the North river; which he, in reply, urged that officer to the immediate performance of, declaring his intention to wait for some favorable turn of affairs in his present post till the twelfth of October. Such an attempt was, indeed, made early in the month by general Clinton, who, at the head of three thousand men, accompanied by a suitable naval force under commodore Hotham, proceeded against forts Clinton and Montgomery on the lower parts of the river, and took them by storm. An immense boom of rafts extending from shore to shore, and strengthened by a chain which alone was supposed to have cost the Americans fifty thousand pounds, was also broken through; after which sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, continued for several days their excursion up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. But in the prosecution of this enterprise, though conducted with great spirit, ability, and success, they sustained some severe losses; and being also apprehensive that their communication with New York would, in the end, be cut off, they determined to return, and not to risk any farther attempts in favor of the northern army, with the extreme distresses and perilous situation of which they were also at that time unacquainted*.

* All general Burgoyne's messages to sir Henry Clinton implied not only the possibility of retreating to Canada, but even of forcing his way onward to Albany, if assured that the communication between Albany and New York could be kept open.

XL. General

XL. General Burgoyne's difficulties began now to increase daily. The enemy had augmented their strength in such a manner as to render the possibility of his retreat extremely precarious. His army was reduced to little more than five thousand men, who were limited to half the usual allowance of provisions. The horses were perishing for want of forage, and no intelligence was received of general Clinton's approach. In this state of alarm and almost of despair, the general himself made a movement to the right with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, in order to discover if there were any means of forcing a passage. The Americans, perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, fell with the utmost fury upon the left and center of the British army, which, being totally overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retire within their lines. They had scarcely entered them, when the enemy, eagerly pursuing their success, stormed them in different parts with uncommon fierceness, under a heavy and well-supported fire of artillery, grape shot, and musquetry. Arnold, who led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, being grievously wounded, his party, after long and repeated efforts, were repulsed. But the Americans were more successful in another quarter, having forced the intrenchments defended by the German troops, who were totally routed, with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery. General Frazer, colonel Breyman, and several other officers of note fell on this unfortunate day: a considerable number were wounded: the enemy took about two hundred prisoners; and, what was to them of the greatest consequence, they obtained from the spoils of the field a large supply of ammunition, under a scarcity of which they had long laboured. As they had also made a lodgment, in consequence of the defeat of the German troops, general Burgoyne felt the necessity of an immediate change of position; and the whole army removed to the heights in the rear of their former encampment, with astonishing order, coolness, and secrecy, amidst the horrors of a night so fatally ushered in, and accompanied with cir-

cumstances

cumstances of uncommon peril. Next day, (October 8) those brave men, being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could extricate them from their present difficulties, repeatedly offered battle to the enemy,—but without effect. The latter were bent on other means of securing a more easy victory, by turning general Burgoyne's right, so as to enclose him on all sides. The moment he discovered their intentions, he quitted his new position on the heights, at nine o'clock in the evening, and fell back to Saratoga, where he found the passes already occupied by the Americans. The farther shores of the river were also lined with numerous detachments of troops, which, with the assistance of their batteaux, entirely commanded the navigation; so that no means of escape seemed left but by a rapid nocturnal march to Fort Edward, each soldier being ordered to carry his provision on his back. But while preparations were making for this purpose, intelligence was received that the enemy were strongly intrenched opposite the fords at Fort Edward, and that the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George were also every where secured and fortified. The attempt was therefore considered as hopeless; and the stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, it was resolved at a council of war, on the thirteenth of October, that terms of capitulation should be proposed to general Gates. The American commander at first dictated some conditions too humiliating to be acquiesced in. The first article stated, that "general Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c. their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war." Burgoyne very nobly replied, "that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off, while they had arms in their hands." Another of the harsh, but rejected conditions was, "that the troops under general Burgoyne's command should be drawn up in their encampment,

ment, and there ground their arms." Burgoyne's anſwer was truly heroic. "This article," ſaid he, "is inadmiſſible in any extremity. Sooner than this army will conſent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will ruſh on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." But Gates was too brave a ſoldier to inſiſt on ſuch terms. After a ſhort negociation, a convention was concluded, by which it was agreed that the Britiſh army ſhould march out of the camp with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms; and be allowed a free embarkation from Boſton to Europe, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America during the preſent war, unleſs exchanged by cartel. It is ſaid, that when they piled their arms, the generoſity of the American commander would not ſuffer an individual to leave his camp to witneſs the ſad ſpectacle. Congreſs did not afterwards act with the like honor, but ſuſpended the execution of the treaty, and detained the Britiſh troops at Boſton, under the meaneſt and moſt futile pretences. Such was the melancholy cataſtrophe of an army conſiſting, at its departure from Canada, of above ten thouſand men, but reduced by the ſword, by famine, hardſhips, and diſeaſe, to little more than half the original number.

XLI. The unfortunate Burgoyne, reduced from the lofty language of his maniſeſto to the ſtile and defence of recrimination, endeavoured to lay the blame of his miſcarriages upon ſir William Howe, for not having ſent a force for co-operation up the North River to Albany; on lord George Germaine, for having tied up his hands by the peremptory tenor of his orders; and on the ſlowneſs with which the Germans had marched to Bennington, the ſource of his diſtreſſes. But in reply to ſuch excuſes it was urged, "that the force put under his command for the intended expedition was nearly, if not fully equal to what he himſelf had required;—that he ought not, on any doubtful proſpect of a co-operating army from New York, to have given up his communication with the Lakes;—and that his conduct in ſending

ſo

ſo ſmall a detachment to Bennington, and this conſiſting of foreigners, and of all foreigners the ſloweſt in their motions, was an abſurdity bordering on infatuation." Every ſtage of the enterpriſe, as well as its final iſſue ſeemed alſo to countenance the general opinion of military men, that he had carried along with him a quantity of artillery totally Incompatible with that celerity of movement on which his ſucceſs depended: if a juncture afterwards aroſe which ſeemed to demand that formidable apparatus, it was the very conveyance of ſo heavy a train which created the neceſſity of employing it: the operations of the army were reſtrained by the tardy progreſs of the artillery; and the enemy had time to recover from their firſt alarm, and to rally their diſperſed forces: had Burgoyne made a rapid advance, he would neither have found men to oppoſe, nor works to interrupt his march; inſtead of which he not only embarraſſed himſelf with thoſe fatal incumbrances, but from a puerile objection to "retrograde motions," made choice of a route calculated to increaſe every delay and to augment every difficulty. "If general Gates himſelf," it was ſaid, "had directed his operations, he could not have planned meaſures more conducive to the completion of his own views: the flight from Ticonderoga had made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſpirits of the Americans, that it was impoſſible for any of their commanders immediately to collect an army, or to inſpire them with that confidence which is neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs; but, in time, the impreſſion would wear off, unleſs it was continued or renewed by the rapid movements of the royal troops: when, on the contrary, theſe troops were ſeen waſting days, weeks, and months, without making any progreſs, it is no wonder that the enemy recovered their ſpirits, and aſſembled in much greater force than ever. In the whole of general Burgoyne's vindication," it was obſerved, "his method was to ſtate a neceſſity for every one of his meaſures taken ſingly, and not as links of one chain, or ſyſtem of action, taking care to paſs over one material circumſtance, that the alledged neceſſity originated, on his

his own part, from some previous omission or blunder."
He appeared to advantage only when adjusting the terms of the capitulation: he then sustained the character of a brave though unfortunate commander with becoming dignity and firmness: his deportment after the surrender of his army, was as pitiful, as his conduct before that melancholy event was weak, presumptuous, and reprehensible. Having been permitted by congress to come to England on his parole, he afterwards refused to go back and join his captive army; threw himself, like other unsuccessful commanders, into the hands of opposition; railed at the ministry; and introduced his own concerns upon every occasion into the debates in parliament, demanding a public trial, complaining, even while a prisoner to the enemy, that he was denied access to the king, and that his merit and sufferings were equally unnoticed.

XLII. As the accounts of this disastrous termination of the campaign on the frontiers of Canada had not reached England before the meeting of parliament on the twentieth of November, the speech from the throne expressed his majesty's confidence, that the spirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with important success; but intimated the necessity of preparing for such farther operations as the contingencies of the war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient: though repeated assurances were received from foreign powers of their pacific dispositions, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continued, a considerable augmentation of the navy was thought adviseable: these various services would require large supplies; and nothing, it was added, could relieve the royal mind from the concern felt for the heavy charge they must bring on the people, but a perfect conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of the kingdom: at the close of the speech, his majesty said, he should steadily pursue the measures engaged in for the re-establishment of constitutional subordination through the several parts of his dominions; but should ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of

the blood of his ſubjects, and to the calamities of war: he ſtill hoped that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, and enable him to accompliſh, what he ſhould conſider as the greateſt happineſs of his life and the greateſt glory of his reign, the reſtoration of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies.—In the houſe of commons, the addreſs, which was drawn up in the uſual ſtile of perfect concurrence, was oppoſed by the marquis of Granby, who brought forward an amendment, recommending to his majeſty meaſures of accommodation, and an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, as neceſſary for effecting ſo deſirable a purpoſe. After a long and vehement diſcuſſion, this amendment was rejected by a majority of 243 to 86. The earl of Chatham was not more ſucceſsful in his endeavours to ſupport a ſimilar amendment in the houſe of lords. His ſpeech was full of thoſe bold and glowing ſtrains of declamatory eloquence, for which he was particularly diſtinguiſhed. "I will not join," ſaid he, "in congratulation on misfortune and diſgrace.—The ſmoothneſs of flattery cannot avail - - - cannot ſave us in this rugged and awful criſis. It is neceſſary to inſtruct the thrône in the language of truth. We muſt diſpel the deluſion and the darkneſs which envelope it; and diſplay, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors."—He then drew a melancholy picture of what he called the degradation of the glories of England. "*But yeſterday,—and England might have ſtood againſt the world: now, none ſo poor to do her reverence!*—I uſe," he added, "the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction.—France, my lords, has inſulted you: ſhe has encouraged and ſuſtained America:—the people, whom you affect to call contemptible rebels, are abetted againſt you, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and their ambaſſadors entertained by your inveterate enemy; and our miniſters dare not interpoſe with effect."—After ſome farther obſervations on this head, all tending to rouſe the indignant ſpirit of the nation at the ſuppoſed inſult, the

nobl,

noble earl was betrayed into a little inconſiſtency, by his eagerneſs to prove, that the preſent was the only criſis of time and ſituation for opening a treaty with the Americans. "In their negociations with France," ſaid his lordſhip, "they have, or think they have, reaſon to complain: though it be notorious that they have received from that power important ſupplies, and aſſiſtance of various kinds; yet it is certain they expected it in a more deciſive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France on ſome points that have not entirely anſwered her expectations: let us wiſely take advantage of every poſſible moment of reconciliation."—The conſequences of the war, the manner in which it had been carried on, and the abſolute impoſſibility of conquering America, trite as theſe ſubjects were, received a gloſs of novelty from his lordſhip's powers of deſcription. "In three campaigns," ſaid he, "we have done nothing, and ſuffered much.—You may ſwell every expence, ſtrain every effort, accumulate every aſſiſtance, traffic and barter with every pitiful German deſpot that ſells and ſends his ſubjects to the ſhambles of a foreign prince; your attemps will be for ever vain and impotent---doubly ſo from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable reſentment the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their poſſeſſions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty.—Your own army is infected with the contagion of theſe illiberal allies.—But, my lords, who is the man, that, in addition to theſe diſgraces and miſchiefs, has dared to authorize and aſſociate to our arms the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife of the ſavage: to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman habitant of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war againſt our brethren?—Beſides theſe murderers and plunderers, let me aſk our miniſters, what other allies have they acquired? What other powers have they aſſociated to their cauſe? Have they entered into alliance with the king of the gypſies?

Nothing, my lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels."---Before his lordship concluded, he strove once more to alarm his hearers by a frightful view of the extraordinary preparations of the house of Bourbon, and defenceless state of the British empire, not twenty ships of the line, he asserted, sufficiently manned, the river of Lisbon in the possession of the enemy, and the seas swept by American privateers; whence he inferred, that no time should be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.---In order to remove any impression that might be made by such confident assertions, and to deaden the effect of that brilliancy of colouring with which the picture was charged, lord Sandwich, who rose to reply, began with acknowledging the noble earl's amazing powers of oratory; but very sarcastically remarked, "that oratory was one thing; and truth, reason, and conviction another When the matter," continued he, "which has now been urged, is separated from the manner and oratorical powers that have accompanied it, it will most certainly be found to contain nothing that can induce your lordships to dissent from the original address, - - - nothing that bears even the resemblance of an argument,"---In confirmation of this remark, he shewed from papers in his hand and documents not to be disputed, how grossly lord Chatham had been deceived with regard to the state of the navy. Forty-two ships of the line were in commission in Great Britain; thirty-five of which were completely manned, and ready for sea at a moment's warning. The force under lord Howe consisted of six ships of the line, besides eighty-seven frigates, sloops and vessels of war. The great number of rebel ships taken or destroyed by our fleet on that station, and the very few losses we had sustained in those seas, afforded the best reply to the exaggerated account of the ravages and insults of the American privateers. The latter had, indeed, annoyed the home trade

for

for a short interval, till the frigates and armed vessels, which had been sent abroad, could be replaced. Between ninety and a hundred were now fit for, or on actual service. With such a force, Great Britain could have nothing to fear from any efforts of France and Spain, even supposing them to be bent upon hostilities, contrary not only to their repeated professions, but to every dictate of sound and liberal policy.—As to what lord Chatham had affirmed of our having lost the port of Lisbon and the alliance of Portugal, "this information," said lord Sandwich, "is perfectly new to me. By the last return I have had from thence, the Invincible, a seventy four gun ship, was in that port; and unless his lordship has had some *secret* account, that she has been either lost, or *taken by an American privateer*, I can hardly credit that we have lost the port of Lisbon. The Portuguese court have not only given us the most solemn assurances of friendship, and expressed an abhorrence of the unnatural conduct of our rebellious subjects, but, as a farther proof of the sincerity of these declarations, have forbid them to enter their ports, and even confiscated one of their vessels for having endeavoured to disobey the ordinance". The other parts of lord Chatham's speech were stript in the same manner of their imposing splendors, and were proved to be either unfounded in fact, or inconclusive in point of reasoning. France, so far from having treated Great Britain with indignity or insult, had all along paid the most respectful and immediate attention to the remonstrances of the latter; had issued orders forbidding American privateers to enter her ports with prizes; and had compelled the restoration of two prizes taken there contrary to those orders and reclaimed. Even supposing the French or Spanish ministry to have connived at illicit transactions, and to have afforded underhand assistance to the rebellious subjects of England, would any friend to his country, if under such circumstances of peril and distress as the noble earl had represented, wish to precipitate it into a war with powers that disclaimed every hostile intention?

The employment of foreigners in the prosecution of the war had been severely, but most unjustly and absurdly censured. If the Americans were applauded for procuring French officers to discipline and command their troops;—if prudence and necessity were supposed to justify rebels in taking foreigners into their pay;—was the mother country to be denied the exercise of the same prudence, when her vital interests were at stake?—Were not veterans of tried service preferable to raw troops, with whom the most exalted courage could not supply the want of military habits,—and was it not more adviseable to call in the aid of foreigners than to drain the country of its most useful hands, and to distress its commerce and manufactures?—But it seems, that the most heinous of all crimes was the employment of the Indians; as if this had been a matter of choice, not of necessity. They were found in the country, and whoever made war there must have them for friends or enemies. The Americans had before tampered with them, and had strained every nerve to induce them to take an active part against the royal cause; so that in this measure, which had been reprobated with such warmth of indignation, the British generals only copied the example which had been set, though it failed in the execution, by the immaculate and infallible congress.—Much declamation had been poured out, and a great deal of artifice employed to soften Englishmen into a false tenderness on the use of the scalping-knife and tomahawk: but surely the musket and the bayonet were far more terrible instruments. It was also pointed out as somewhat surprising, that the noble earl, who had expressed so much horror at the rapine of hirelings and the ferocity of savages, did not seem to bestow a single thought on the more unnatural and bloody conduct of the Americans, who not only plundered their own brethren, but exercised the most unheard-of cruelties, for no other crime but merely refusing to join in acts of treason, perfidy, ingratitude, and rebellion!—With such arguments did the lords in office oppose lord Chatham's amendment, the terms of which they

demonstrated

demonſtrated to be equally extravagant and diſgraceful. To ſuſpend hoſtilities, and propoſe to treat with the Americans as ſubjects, when they had peremptorily inſiſted on the acknowledgment of their independency as the great baſis for entering into any negociation, was a futile, ſneaking project, which could be productive only of contempt and ridicule. The amendment was therefore rejected by a majority of 97 to 28; and the main queſtion on the addreſs being then put, was carried without a diviſion.

XLIII. From this time to the receſs, and, indeed, during the greater part of the ſeſſion, inquiries into the late conduct and the actual ſtate of public affairs became the great object of the oppoſition in both houſes. The demand for official papers, and for the minuteſt information on every topic was urged with inceſſant clamour; and every inſtance of prudent concealment was argued as a proof of conſcious guilt or weakneſs. But though the miniſtry had expreſſed their cordial acquieſcence in ſuch inquiries when directed to proper objects, and had readily agreed to motions of that tendency made by Mr. Fox in the lower, and the duke of Richmond in the upper houſe; yet they alſo declared, that they neither could nor would conſent to make diſcoveries not leſs inconſiſtent with all ſound wiſdom and true policy, than prejudicial to government, and contrary to the real intereſts of the country. Secrecy was in many caſes the very life and ſoul not only of naval or military enterpriſes, but of political plans and negociations: the diſcloſure of ſuch ſecrets would therefore, as the attorney general obſerved, be an act of unparalleled inſanity.

XLIV. The news of the calamitous event at Saratoga having reached England in the beginning of December, lord Chatham, on the fifth of the month, moved that copies of all orders and inſtructions to general Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, ſhould be laid before the houſe. This motion he introduced with a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he ſeemed to ſummon all his powers of oratory, and all his natural vehemence, to

the direct cenfure of the minifters, and the moft unqualified condemnation of their conduct. Lord Littleton took the lead in reply, and certainly left the noble earl little reafon to congratulate himfelf on the effect of his harangue, or the poignancy of his invectives. The motion was rejected as premature and unparliamentary by a majority of 40 to 19. But lord Chatham, though defeated in this attempt, immediately returned to the charge, and moved for an addrefs to obtain copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of the favages, with a copy of the inftructions given by general Burgoyne to colonel St. Leger. His lordfhip never appeared to greater difadvantage than in the debate on this fubject. He had before acknowledged that Indians were employed in the king's fervice in America during his own adminiftration; yet he now reprehended the practice in terms of the utmoft afperity. This inconfiftency being pointed out by the prefident of the council, lord Chatham reproached him with petulance and mifreprefentation. Indians, he confeffed, had crept into the fervice during the laft war; but their employment had never been fanctioned by him in his official capacity. The remark was therefore a mere quibble; and came, he added, with a bad grace from one, who, at the time of the tranfaction alluded to, was immerfed in pleafure, and indulged himfelf in all the variety of youthful diffipation. The keennefs of lord Gower's reply could only be compared to the edge of Michael's fword, as defcribed by the poet: it cut the very foul afunder. "I have not been petulant," faid he, "though others may have been infolent. The noble earl charges me with quibbling, I have a juft right to retort on him. My diftinctions were not unfair: his are paltry and evafive. He does not conduct himfelf with candour: his infinuations are equally illiberal, unmanly, and untrue. The point I wifh to afcertain is,---Were Indians employed while he was minifter? and does he mean to plead ignorance as an apology for a conduct which he has fo highly condemned?—I am free to repeat, that the noble earl himfelf, while at the head of adminiftration

administration last war, not only employed the Indians, but employed them under instructions and treaties of the most sanguinary tendency; and in order to shew that this assertion is not made to catch the public, or to serve the purpose of temporary delusion, I shall prove what I have said by producing, from the journals of the house, one of those treaties breathing the spirit of cruelty in a greater degree than any instructions sent out to our commanders in America since the commencement of the present unhappy war."—Here an extract was read from a treaty made, while Mr. Pitt was secretary of state, with an Indian nation, one condition of which was, *that they should kill and scalp every Frenchman who came within their country*. This stubborn fact admitted but of one remark, on the part of lord Gower. "Though the French," said he, "were then at war with us, I presume, that neither the noble earl, nor any lord present will say, that they were more hostile or inimical to us than our rebellious subjects." Lord Chatham was evidently confounded: still, however, he denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called upon the noble lord who at that time commanded in America to declare the truth. Lord Amherst rose with much seeming reluctance, and owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides—"The French employed them first," he said, "and we followed the example. Most certainly I should not have ventured to do so, if I had not received orders to that purpose." Being farther urged, he added, "I was desired to make treaties with the Indian powers—I was charged with it in my instructions; a copy of which I shall be at any time ready to produce, with his majesty's permission."—The earl of Denbigh was very severe on lord Chatham, whom he called "the great oracle with the short memory;" asserting, "that the returns of the army must have shewn that the Indians were employed last war; and that, as his lordship, when in office, always contended for guidance and direction, he could not be ignorant of the matter, if he had not lost his memory." Lord Shelburne made an ingenious attempt to support his

his noble friend, and to reconcile seeming contradictions, by suggesting, that the orders sent at that time to the commander in America, were probably conveyed through the channel of the board of trade, and not through that of the secretary of state. Lord Chatham eagerly strove to avail himself of so plausible a subterfuge, and said he was sure, the orders had not passed *regularly* through his office, and that his late majesty had too much humanity to give his formal sanction to such a satanic measure. But the fallacy of this pretence was fully exposed by lord Suffolk, who observed that all instructions to governors and commanders in chief *necessarily* came through the office of secretary of state, and were countersigned by the king. Lord Suffolk took occasion also to explain a remark of his on the propriety of the measure in a former debate, which had given rise to the grossest misrepresentations. He had then not only insisted on the necessity and policy of employing the Indians, but added, that he thought administration would be highly censurable, if entrusted as they were with the suppression of an unnatural rebellion, they did not use all the means which God and nature had put into their hands. Nothing could be farther from his ideas than the falsely imputed wish to defend and sanctify the commission of the most horrid barbarities. There could not be a stronger proof that the aid of the savages was not called in for any such purpose, than their deserting general Burgoyne, when they found that no service they could render would induce him to connive at ferocity, or to abate of the rigour of military discipline. God and nature furnished the means; but God and nature likewise restrained the abuse of them. The tomahawk and scalping knife were weapons of destruction: so were the sword and the bayonet: and when death was to be the consequence, it availed very little, in his lordship's opinion, what instrument was employed in effecting it.—Lord Townsend took the same side of the question, and justified the measure in the last, as well as the present war, the example at both periods having been set by the enemy.---The duke of Richmond having, in

in the courſe of the debate, denied that any proof could be given that the Americans had firſt employed, or attempted to employ the ſavages; the earl of Dunmore, late governor of Virginia, roſe to give the houſe the fulleſt ſatisfaction on that head. He declared, that he himſelf had been attacked by a party of Indians ſet on by the rebels; and that, at the very beginning of the diſturbances, the Virginians had uſed every effort to induce the ſavages to join them, but that the chiefs of one of the tribes made this anſwer to their application---"What! ſhall we fight againſt the great king over the water, who in the laſt war ſent ſuch large armies, and ſo much money here, to defend you from the devaſtations of the French, and from our attacks?—No:—if you have ſo little gratitude; we will not aſſiſt ſo baſe a purpoſe."—His lordſhip added, that the Virginians, finding themſelves thus diſappointed, had dreſſed up ſome of their own people, like Indians, with a view to terrify the forces under his command.—The debate continued till eleven o'clock at night, when lord Chatham's motion was thrown out by the previous queſtion, the majority being 40 to 18.

XLV. On the tenth of December, the royal aſſent was given to the bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the *habeus corpus* law in certain caſes of piracy and treaſon; and to the land and malt tax bills, thoſe ſtanding reſources of government. The eſtabliſhments both of the navy and army for the enſuing year had been ſettled in the houſe of commons ſome days before, grants for maintaining ſixty thouſand ſeamen and twenty thouſand land forces, beſides foreign auxiliaries, having been voted in the committee of ſupply. As no buſineſs therefore of immediate exigency, or which it was uſual to tranſact before the holidays, remained for the conſideration of parliament, it was determined to procure a ſufficient breathing time by an early receſs, in order to anſwer the different purpoſes of a recovery from paſt fatigue, a relief from preſent toil, and due preparation for thoſe inquiries which had been agreed to by the ſervants of the crown in both houſes. It is alſo probable that the miniſtry wanted

ſome

ſome leiſure to deliberate upon and concert the eaſieſt and moſt effectual means of ſupplying the place of Burgoyne's unfortunate army, and filling up the chaſms which death, ſickneſs, or deſertion had made in the remaining force in America. On the day, therefore, that the above bills were paſſed, and as ſoon as one of Mr. Wilkes's extravagant and ill-ſupported motions for the repeal of the declaratory law was diſpoſed of by a majority of 160 to 12, lord Beauchamp moved for an adjournment of the commons to the twentieth of January. So early and long a receſs, in the preſent ſituation of public affairs, was affirmed by the gentlemen of the oppoſition to be equally raſh, hazardous, and unprecedented: but when the queſtion was put, after a tedious debate, the numbers in favor of the propoſed adjournment were 155 againſt 68. Next day, a ſimilar motion was ſcarcely leſs agitated in the houſe of lords; but was finally carried by a majority of 47 to 17.

1778. XLVI. From ſome hints thrown out by lord North in the debate on the queſtion of adjournment, it was evident that the miniſtry had turned their thoughts to ſome new ſcheme of accommodation: but they muſt alſo have felt the neceſſity of making ſuch preparations for the enſuing campaign, as would enable them to treat with dignity, and to aſſert the ſovereign rights of the mother country with ſucceſs. Soon after the arrival of the melancholy news from Canada, offers were made to government by ſeveral perſons of rank and influence to raiſe regiments by ſubſcription, ſuggeſting that theſe new levies would ſoon be adequate to all the purpoſes of home-defence, and would leave adminiſtration at full liberty to ſend out the old battalions from Great Britain and Ireland to proſecute the war in America with undiminiſhed vigour. The propoſal was in the ſpirit of genuine patriotiſm; but the uncertainty how far that ſpirit might extend, and the delicacy of the experiment rendered it adviſable to take ſome time to conſider the propriety of accepting or encouraging ſuch offers. The firſt part of the receſs was ſpent by the members of the cabinet in various conſulta-

tions

tions on this subject; and perhaps their final assent to the measure was as much influenced by a desire to feel the pulse of the nation at this crisis, as by any other motive of policy or convenience. Those, who had pledged themselves for the support and furtherance of the plan, now took the most immediate and effectual steps, in the places where their interest lay, both to sound the disposition of the people, and to give it that direction which was necessary for the purpose. Public meetings of towns, counties, and corporate bodies, were called together; and the present opportunity of shewing their attachment to the crown was described in very persuasive language. Manchester and Liverpool were the leaders in this business, and each soon raised a regiment of a thousand men. Wherever the intrigues of faction prevented a concurrence of the majority in the proposed mode of advancing the public service, subscriptions were opened by the well-affected party, to which the rich and the zealous very liberally contributed. Scotland and Wales were not backward in the like manifestations of their loyalty. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow followed the example of Liverpool and Manchester, and raised two regiments. Several individuals undertook and performed the raising of regiments in the Highlands; and many independent companies were levied in Wales with equal expedition and alacrity. Such a testimony of the general sense of the people was a source of fresh confidence to the strenuous supporters of the war; and though the very first business taken up by the opposition, after the holidays, was what they called an alarming and unconstitutional attempt to raise a large body of forces without the knowledge or advice of parliament, yet the ministry not only defended the perfect innocence of the measure with respect both to constitution and law, but maintained that the voluntary unsolicited efforts of so many loyal subjects, in a moment of supposed distress or danger, were grounds of the justest exultation. "It was no small comfort and encouragement," said they, "to persons intrusted with the management of public affairs, to find that the general opinion

nion entertained of their conduct and measures was not to be influenced by contingencies, nor to give way to those unexpected and unlucky accidents, which no sagacity could foresee, nor human wisdom provide against: it must also afford a pleasure peculiarly grateful to every true Englishman, to see the spirit and fortitude of the people rise with their difficulties, and, in the present state of public emergency, shine out in so conspicuous a manner."—The debates on this head were frequently renewed with unusal heat in both houses; but the opposition were foiled in all their efforts to get some censure passed on so laudable a proceeding, as the offers made by a numerous and very loyal part of the people to strengthen the hands of government, and to support with their persons and their purses the constitutional authority of Great Britain over her rebellious subjects in America.

XLVII. From the manner, in which Mr. Fox opened the inquiry into the state of the nation in a grand committee of the house of commons on the second of February, it was easy to perceive that his only object and that of the whole party was to goad ministers with the sharpest stings of invective; to lessen the public confidence in their counsels; and not only to interrupt, but to supersede, if possible, all the weighty concerns of the empire by the incessancy of factious strife and of personal altercation. He entered into a long review of the measures which led to the war, and of the manner in which it had been conducted. "It was impossible," he said, "for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government.—The present calamitous state of the nation was to be traced to the blind obstinacy and wretched incapacity of its ministers, who *would not* listen to any overtures of conciliation,—who *could not* carry into effect any plan of coercion."—His whole speech was in this strain. It rolled along like a torrent, equally impetuous and turbid. He concluded with remarks on the folly and danger of leaving Great Britain defenceless; and moved for an address to his majesty, that no

more

more of the old eſtabliſhed national forces ſhould be ſent out of the kingdom. Mr. Fox and his friends were much diſappointed at the effect of this ſpeech. All his vague and violent charges were received by the miniſters with contemptuous ſilence. No reply whatever was made; but the queſtion was immediately put, on the addreſs, and negatived by a majority of 259 to 165. A motion nearly to the ſame purport, and made on the ſame day in a ſimilar committee of the whole houſe of lords by the duke of Richmond, was rejected, after ſome debate, by a majority of exactly three to one, the numbers being only 31 for the motion againſt 93 who oppoſed it. Any farther detail of the almoſt infinite variety of motions and votes of cenſure which were ſubmitted to thoſe committees in both houſes by the principal ſpeakers of the minority, would be extremely tedious and unintereſting. The debates contained nothing more in ſubſtance than a repetition of the old topics and the old arguments, however diverſified in form by the efforts of ingenuity and eloquence. The obſtinacy of one party could only be equalled by the ſeemingly inexhauſtible patience of the other.

XLVIII. In the midſt of theſe altercations, which unfortunately took up the greater part of the time and attention of parliament, lord North gave notice that he had digeſted a new plan of conciliation with regard to America. After the uſual preparatory ſteps, he introduced two bills on the nineteenth of February, which were carried through both houſes with great diſpatch, and received the royal aſſent on the eleventh of March. By the firſt of theſe, the American tea-act, paſſed in the year 1767, was repealed, and a legiſlative declaration was made, that the king and parliament of Great Britain would not in future impoſe any tax or duty whatſoever payable in the colonies, except only ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the regulation of trade, with this farther reſtriction, that the nett produce of the duty ſo impoſed ſhould be applied to the particular uſe of the colony where it was collected. The object of the other bill was to

enable his majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consult, and agree with any assemblies of men in America, and even with individuals, concerning any grievances existing in the government of any of the colonies, or in the laws of Great Britain extending to them, and concerning any contributions to be furnished by them, or any other regulations which might be for the common good of both countries. But to render any such agreement valid, it was necessary that it should be afterwards ratified by parliament. In some instances, the commissioners were to be invested with absolute power, to proclaim, if they thought proper, a cessation of hostilities by sea and land;—to open an intercourse with the mother country;—to suspend the operation of all acts of parliament relating to the colonies, passed since the tenth of February 1763;—and to grant pardons to all descriptions of persons. A plan of this kind, so strongly marked by humiliation, debasement, and despondency, and so unlikely to be attended with any good effect, exposed lord North and his colleagues to the imputation of a want of wisdom, as well as a want of firmness. If the concessions now proposed were proper and advisable, they ought to have been made at an earlier period, either before the sword was drawn, or at least before the declaration of independency rendered it almost impossible for the congress to recede: if, on the other hand, the claims of the mother country over her colonies were originally worth contending for, the resources of the nation were not yet so far exhausted as to justify ministers in relinquishing them without a farther struggle.

XLIX. There was a remarkable contrast between the spirit of pusillanimity which seemed to have dictated the new scheme of conciliation, and the tone of confidence assumed by the minister at the opening of his budget a few days after. He drew a very pleasing picture of the strength, wealth, and stability of the country; and though he confessed that the arts employed by its enemies to depress the credit of the nation had obliged him to borrow money for the public service on terms somewhat higher than

usual

usual, yet he chose rather to submit to this trifling and temporary disadvantage, than to risk a bargain which might ultimately tend to our discredit. He had held out, he said, no false colours to the lenders, nor let one syllable escape him, in regard to the probability or improbability of a war with France, that they might not have it in their power to reproach him with any possible contingency: but he did not believe, that the stocks, which had been lately affected by the apprehension of such an event, would fall any lower, were a war actually declared; and he looked forward with rapture to the accessions which the sinking fund would receive from the gradual extinction of exchequer annuities, whence he inferred, that in general it was better to borrow on higher terms, in a way that should in a course of years be adding to that fund. The votes of supply for the current year, he observed, amounted to somewhat more than thirteen millions*: the produce of the ordinary and established resources would leave a balance of nearly six millions unprovided for: this sum he proposed to raise by annuities in the following manner, viz. each subscriber of a hundred pounds to be entitled to an annuity of three per cent. redeemable by parliament, besides a farther annuity of two and a half per cent. for thirty years, and a proportionable share of forty eight thousand lottery tickets, which would be exactly four tickets, at ten pounds each, for every five hundred pounds subscribed. In order to secure the interest of this loan, he found it necessary to propose two new taxes: the first was a tax upon houses to be regulated by the rent, those under five pounds a year being wholly exempted, but from five to fifty to be rated at six pence in the pound, and from fifty and upwards at one shilling, to be paid by the occupier: the other was an additional duty of eight guineas per tun on all French wines imported, and four guineas per tun on

* Lord North did not include in this statement the grant of one million for discharging exchequer bills to that amount made out in consequence of the vote of credit passed the last session.

all other foreign wine. The latter was objected to merely as affecting the commerical alliance subsisting with Portugal, and as it might produce a tax there on British manufactures. But the new house tax gave rise to a warm debate. The gentlemen in opposition asserted, that it was not only a land-tax in effect, but that it would also be found exceedingly grievous and disproportionate: tradesmen of every denomination were obliged through necessity to take houses commodiously situated, however high the rent might be: hence it was evident that by making the rent the criterion of the occupier's circumstances, the heaviest burthens would often be imposed on those who were least able to bear the pressure. These objections, however plausible, were not deemed conclusive. Ingenuity might in vain exert itself in devising new taxes which would not prove in some degree unequal: it is very difficult to come at the real property of individuals: a financier can only be guided by visible signs of ability: and as the rent affords the fairest estimate of the value of a house, the occupier has no right to complain, that the opinion of his circumstances should be regulated by the same standard.

L. As soon as the resolutions proposed by lord North were agreed to by the committee, Mr. Gilbert, who was himself in office, and closely connected with one branch of ministry, moved, that the better to enable his majesty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the present exigency of affairs, a tax of five shillings in the pound be laid on all salaries and pensions issuing out of the exchequer, during the continuance of the war. The motion was carried by 100 against 82 voices in the committee; but on the report next day [March 10] it was rejected by a majority of six, the numbers upon a division being 147 to 141 who supported the question.

LI. The conduct of France and Spain had for some time been an object of just suspicion. In the midst of all their assurances of friendship for Great Britain, a fraudful intercourse with America was carried on; supplies

of money, arms, and ammunition were clandeſtinely conveyed beyond the Atlantic; while their ports and dock-yards in Europe reſounded with the buſtle of hoſtile preparation. Yet it ſeemed repugnant to every maxim of common ſenſe, that powers who had foreign ſettlements of their own, ſhould become the abettors of colonial independency,—ſhould teach a leſſon and ſet an example, which might very ſoon and very eaſily be directed againſt themſelves. Beſides, the conteſt between England and her provinces exhibited a new and doubtful caſe. It required no great ſagacity to foreſee, that if the latter ſhould grow into a ſeparate empire, it muſt cauſe a conſiderable revolution in the political ſyſtem of the univerſe: the ſhock would be felt by all the governments of the old as well as the new world; and a bare apprehenſion of the unknown conſequences, which might proceed from ſo untried a ſtate of public affairs, ought to have ſtaggered the reſolution of any other kingdom, however inimical or ambitious. The motives which impelled the cabinet of Verſailles to act in blind or rather frantic oppoſition to theſe plain ſuggeſtions of policy, caution, and honor, will be hereafter explained. It is ſufficient here to ſtate the fact, that two treaties, one of commerce, and another of defenſive alliance, were finally ſigned at Paris the ſixth of February in the preſent year, by the chevalier Gerard in behalf of the French king, and by Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, on the part of the United Sates. The firſt, as its title imports, was intended to regulate the commerce to be carried on between France and America; and the principal object of the other was to ſecure the ſovereignty and independence of the revolted colonies. The nature of theſe engagements having been formally notified to the court of Great Britain on the thirteenth of March, a meſſage was ſent by the king to both houſes of parliament on the ſeventeenth, to inform them, that a reſcript had been delivered by the French ambaſſador, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in conſequence of which of-

fensive communication on the part of the court of France, his majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court; and relying on the zealous support of his people, was prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdoms, to repel so unprovoked and unjust an aggression.—Addresses, which the opposition strove in vain to clog with an implied bargain for the removal of the ministers, were voted by a majority of almost three to one in both houses. They expressed in terms of uncommon warmth and energy their indignation at the conduct of France,—at the enterprises of that restless and dangerous spirit of ambition and aggrandizement, which had so often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe: they gave his majesty the strongest assurances of their most zealous assistance and support: and concluded with declaring their firm confidence, that, in every demonstration of loyalty to their king, and of love to their country, his faithful subjects would vie with each other; and that no considerations would divert or deter them from standing forth in the public defence, and from sustaining, with a steady perseverance, any extraordinary burthens and expences, which should be found necessary for enabling his majesty to vindicate the honor of his crown, and to protect the just rights and essential interests of his kingdoms.

LII. At a moment when the old, the hereditary enemies of England were preparing to associate their arms to those of her rebellious colonists, it became an object of the first importance to draw as tight as possible the bands of union between the remaining loyal parts of the empire. The situation of the Irish in particular seemed to require immediate regard. A kind of left-handed policy had too long subjected the sister kingdom to the most cruel, oppressive, and unnatural restrictions. Deprived of every incentive to industry, and shut out from every passage to wealth, she had inwardly lamented, but had never been clamorous or importunate in her complaints. She had gone the most forward lengths in serving the interests, and in defending the rights of Great

Britain

Britain. She had assisted in conquests, from which she was to gain no advantage: she had emptied her treasury and desolated her land, to prove her attachment and loyalty. Commercial bondage had hitherto been the only reward of such conduct. A revision of the Irish trade laws was therefore now proposed by one of the court party; and the measure being entered into with great cordiality by most of the principal members of the opposition, the following resolutions were agreed to in a committee of the whole house of commons:—I. that the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce or manufacture of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollens only excepted; as also foreign certificate goods legally imported:—II. that a direct importation into Ireland be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of the British plantations, tobacco only excepted:—III. that the direct exportation of glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to all places except Great Britain:—IV. that the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain; as also,—V. the importation of Irish sail-cloth and cordage. Before any progress could be made in the bills founded on these resolutions, they excited a very great and general alarm amongst the commercial part of the British nation, who seemed to consider the admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade as equally destructive to their property and subversive of their rights. The easter recess afforded time and opportunity for preparing instructions to representatives, and petitions against the bills, which soon poured in from every quarter; and it deserves mention, as an instance of mercantile folly and prejudice, that, in several of the petitions, the importation of Irish sail-cloth and of wrought iron was particularly specified as ruinous to the same manufactures in England; though it appeared, upon enquiry, that Ireland had long possessed those very privileges under the sanction of a posi-

tive

tive law, but was so incapable of prosecuting such manufactures to any purpose of competition, that great quantities of both were annually exported to that country from England. Hence it was evident, that the petitioners had not felt in reality what they dreaded in idea; and it might also be very fairly presumed, that the other matters of apprehension which they stated were as groundless as the former, and were suggested only by ignorance, jealousy, and a spirit of exclusion. Their fears, however, had such influence on the disposition of the house, that some openings in the African and West India trades, and a little enlargement of the freedom of exportation in a few other trifling articles, were the only concessions now obtained for Ireland; so that the measure, at its final transit through parliament, could at best be considered but as an earnest of good intention, or a proof that the mist of prejudice was at length beginning to disperse.

LIII. While the plan for affording some redress to the grievances of the Irish was in agitation, a particular class of proscribed people in England, who had been almost forgotten in the patience and silence with which for many years they had endured their sufferings, were now destined to experience the happy effects of a more enlightened policy. On the fourteenth of May, sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act of the tenth and eleventh of William the third, entitled, an act for preventing the farther growth of Popery; which penalties the mover stated to be, the punishment of Popish priests or jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next Protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a Protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the life-time of the proprietor; and the depriving Papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase. He said, that one of his principal views in proposing this repeal

was

was to vindicate the honour, and to affert the principles of the Proteftant religion, to which all perfecution was, or ought to be, wholly adverfe. However neceffary the penal laws againft Papifts might have been thought, whilft the conftitution was ftruggling into reform, and afterwards confirming itfelf in that happy fettlement, true policy, as well as the liberal fpirit of Chriftian charity, now forbade the keeping up fuch ftanding memorials of civil rancour and difcord, and perpetuating a line of divifion, by which one part of the people being cut off from the rights of citizens, could fcarcely be faid to poffefs any fhare in the common intereft, and were rendered incapable of forming any part of the common union of defence. Thofe laws feemed calculated to compel a confiderable body of the people to hold an hereditary enmity to government, and even to wean them from all affection to their country. Sir George was very ably feconded by Mr. Dunning, who went into a mafterly difcuffion of the principle, objects, and paft operation of the act which was intended to be repealed. "The penalties in queftion were difgraceful," he faid, "not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to loofen all the bands of fociety,—to diffolve all focial, moral, and religious obligations and duties,—to poifon the fources of domeftic felicity,—and to annihilate every principle of honour."—The motion was received with fuch high and marked approbation, that the bill founded upon it paffed without a fingle negative, and foon afterwards acquired, by the concurrence of the peers and the king, the force of a law.

LIV. No other bufinefs of any confiderable importance was tranfacted this feffion, though both houfes were almoft conftantly engaged in debates on various fubjects of national concern. Burgoyne's return to England brought the cataftrophe at Saratoga again upon the carpet; but his invectives againft the miniftry, and his refufal to go back to his brave troops, thofe unfortunate victims of his rafhnefs and felf-fufficiency, contributed very little to the vindication of his character. The ftate of

of the home defence and the line of conduct to be pursued at the eve of hostilities with France were also frequent subjects of discussion and inquiry. Among the multiplicity of motions made on this head by different members of the opposition, one deserves very particular notice, on account of the interesting circumstances with which it was attended. At the close of the grand committee in the upper house, the duke of Richmond moved for an address to the king, urging the necessity of instantly withdrawing his fleets and armies from the thirteen revolted provinces, and of dismissing his ministers, as the authors of every public calamity and disgrace. To secure the dependence of America was now, he said, impracticable: the sooner, therefore, we relinquished the claim, the better able we should be to save the remains of the empire from impending destruction. Lord Weymouth made a very animated reply; but all its energy and spirit were soon lost in the sudden blaze of the earl of Chatham's expiring genius. This nobleman, whose extreme bodily weakness had rendered it necessary for him to be supported on each side in going from his carriage into the house, rose as soon as lord Weymouth sat down, and began by lamenting, that his infirmities had so long, and at so important a crisis, prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution, to come down to the house on this day, perhaps the last time he should ever be able to enter its walls, to express the indignation he felt at an idea which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America. "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance;—and to

tarnish

tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and possessions.—Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon?—It is impossible!—I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort: and if we must fall, let us fall like men!"—The duke of Richmond expressed the highest veneration and esteem for lord Chatham, yet immediately added, "if the noble earl had indeed pointed out the means of supporting ourselves in an unequal contest with France, Spain, and America, I should readily acquiesce in his sentiments; but as his lordship has not only omitted to point out the means, but has acknowledged that he knows them not, I presume he will excuse me, if I adhere to my former opinion."---Lord Chatham attempted to rise again; but after two or three unsuccessful efforts, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down in a convulsive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and the other lords near him caught him in their arms, and helped to remove him into the Prince's Chamber. Medical assistance being instantly obtained, his lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favourite villa at Hayes in Kent. As soon as the confusion occasioned by this melancholy incident subsided, the duke of Richmond proposed to adjourn the business to the following day, which was complied with. The resumed debate served only to bring into fuller view the difference of opinion between the Rockingham and Chatham parties on the subject of American independence, the former contending for its recognition without delay or reserve, and the latter deprecating such a measure as the greatest of all political and national evils. The duke's motion for an address was rejected by a majority of 50 to 33.

LV. The first appearances of lord Chatham's recovery were soon found to be delusive. After lingering a few weeks, he expired, May the 11th, in the 70th year of his age.

age. The houſe of commons, on receiving intelligence of this event, ſeemed affected with the deepeſt ſenſibility; and a motion, made by colonel Barré, for interring the remains of the deceaſed earl at the public expence, was unanimouſly agreed to, with the farther addition, propoſed by Mr. Rigby, that a monument ſhould be erected to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey. Two days after, the like unanimity prevailed, on a motion for addreſſing the king, to beg that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to make a permanent proviſion for the late earl's family, in conſideration of his public ſervices. The king's ready compliance with this requeſt being ſignified to the commons, a bill was brought in and readily paſſed, by which a clear annuity of four thouſand pounds, payable out of the civil liſt, was to be for ever annext to the earldom of Chatham, and the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was voted for the diſcharge of debts and incumbrances. The diſpoſition of honoring the remains or memory of this illuſtrious ſtateſman was not ſo ſtrong or ſo general in the houſe of lords. A motion being made by the earl of Shelburne, on the thirteenth of May, that the houſe ſhould attend the funeral of the late earl, it was directly oppoſed; and the members being found equal upon a diviſion, amounting to ſixteen on each ſide, the proxies were called for, when the motion was loſt by a majority of one, there being twenty againſt nineteen who ſupported the queſtion. The bill for ſettling an annuity on the inheritors of the title of Chatham, notwithſtanding its ſmooth paſſage through the lower houſe, met alſo with a very ſtrenuous oppoſition, at its ſecond reading, from the duke of Chandos, from lord Bathurſt the chancellor, and a few others, who objected to what they called an unwarrantable laviſhing away of the public money, at a time when the nation was groaning under a heavy load of debt, and engaged in a dangerous and expenſive war. They farther expreſſed their fears, that a precedent of this kind might afterwards be made uſe of for factious purpoſes, and to the enriching of private families at the public expence. Their objections, however, were over-

ruled

ruled by a majority of 42 to 11; and next day, [June 3] the bill received the royal aſſent, after which the parliament was prorogued*.

CHAP. IV.

I. *Review of French Politics, and Cauſes of the almoſt frantic Coalition with the revolted Colonies.* II. *Events which followed the Elector of Bavaria's Death.* III. *Reſolutions of Congreſs on receiving the rough Draughts of the conciliatory Bills.* IV. *Gazette publiſhed in America on Mr. Deane's Arrival from Paris with the Treaties of Commerce and Alliance.* V. *Reply to the firſt Overtures made by the Engliſh Commiſſioners.* VI. *Governor Johnſtone's unſucceſsful Attempt to call in the Aid of private Friendſhip.* VII. *Farther Proceedings of the Commiſſioners before they took their final Leave of America.* VIII. *Philadelphia evacuated by the Britiſh Army.* IX. *Action in the Vicinity of Freehold Court-houſe.* X. *The Count D'Eſtaigne foiled in his Endeavours to co operate with General Sullivan in a Deſcent on Rhode Iſland.* XI. *Accidental Meeting of ſingle Ships belonging to the French and Engliſh Fleets.* XII. *Expedition to Buzzard's Bay, and to Martha's Vineyard.* XIII. *Ships, Storehouſes, and Saltworks deſtroyed at Egg Harbour; and Part of Pulaſki's American Legion, and the whole Regiment of Baylor's light Horſe cut to Pieces in different nightly Attacks.* XIV. *Reduction of the Province of Georgia.* XV. *A deſultory War carried on between the Indians and Americans with almoſt equal Waſte and Cruelty on both Sides.* XVI. *Great Glory acquired by the Britiſh Fleet and Army at St*

* On the ſame day, before his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, the late attorney general took his ſeat by the title of lord Thurlow, baron Aſhfield; and as ſoon as the parliament was prorogued, earl Bathurſt having waited upon the king at St. James's, with the great ſeal, it was immediately preſented to the newly created baron. Mr. Wedderburne ſucceeded his lordſhip in the office of attorney general, thereby making room for Mr. Wallace's appointment to that of ſolicitor general.

Lucia. XVII. *D'Estaigne blocked up in Fort Royal Harbour by Admiral Byron*. XVIII. *Pondicherry taken, and the French Power annihilated in Bengal and on the Coast of Coromandel*. XIX. *Preparations for War in Europe*. XX. *Admiral Keppel goes upon a Cruise with the Channel Fleet;—captures two French Frigates;—returns to Portsmouth;—and soon sails again with a considerable Reinforcement*. XXI. *Account of the Engagement on the twenty seventh of July*. XXII. *Its Consequences*. XXIII. *Trials of Keppel and Palliser*. XXIV. *Violence of the Opposition in Parliament*. XXV. *Opening of the Budget*.—XXVI. *Result of the Inquiry into Sir William Howe's Conduct*. XXVII. *Bill for the Relief of the Dissenters*.—XXVIII. *Royal Message on the Spanish Manifesto a short Time before the Prorogation*. XXIX. *Siege of Gibraltar,—Capture of Senegal—Attempt on the Island of Jersey*.—XXX. *The combined Fleets of France and Spain, after exciting some Alarm, totally abandon the British Coasts*. XXXI. *St. Vincents and Grenada taken by D'Estaigne*. XXXII. *His Return to France, after a mortifying Repulse at Savannah*. XXXIII. *Success of the British Forces in a Variety of Enterprises by Sea and Land; in one of which the whole rebel Marine was destroyed in the Penobscot*. XXXIV. *Enormities of the Savages on the Frontiers dreadfully retaliated by an American Army under General Sullivan*. XXXV. *The British Settlements on the Mississippi subdued by the Spanish Governor of Louisiana*.—XXXVI. *Fortress of Omoa and Spanish register Ships taken by a small Squadron under the Command of Captain Luttrell*. XXXVII. *Changes in the Ministry before the Meeting of Parliament*. XXXVIII. *Duel between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam*. XXXIX. *Important Concessions made to Ireland*. LX. *County Meetings;—Inquiries into the public Expenditure;—and Mr. Burke's Plan of œconomical Reform*. XLI. *The Speaker's Altercation with Lord North; and Mr. Fullarton's Complaint of Lord Shelburne; with the Issue of the latter Affair in Hyde Park*. XLII. *Debate on the new Taxes*. XLIII. *Committee of the House for considering the County Petitions*. XLIV. *Protestant*

Association

Association—Dreadful Riots—Trials of some of the Delinquents. XLV. *Subsequent Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament till the Close of the Session.* XLVI. *Signal Successes of Sir George Rodney on his Way to the West Indies.* XLVII. *His Exertions there.* XLVIII. *Charlestown taken by Sir Henry Clinton.* XLIX. *Scheme of an Attack on the French and Americans at Rhode Island disconcerted.* L. *Arnold's Defection from the Rebels followed by the Execution of Major André.* LI. *Complete Victory obtained by Lord Cornwallis over General Gates near Camden.* LII. *Admiral Geary's Capture of twelve Merchantmen from Port au Prince soon followed by one of the heaviest Blows which the Commerce of England had ever sustained.* LIII. *Some Account of the "Armed Neutrality," and of other Steps which led to a Rupture with Holland.*

I. AS nothing could appear more frantic, to the eye of enlightened policy, than the treaties lately concluded by the French king with the American rebels, it may be proper, before the effects of so unnatural an association are traced any farther, to explain the motives which prompted the cabinet of Versailles to depart from that pacific line of conduct towards Great Britain, which it had pursued with equal caution and security since the peace of 1763. In the survey of Europe at the close of the war, it was observed, that the internal troubles of France afforded the best pledges of her external inoffensiveness, it being evident, from the nature of the disputes which then commenced between the king and the parliaments, that any rash attempt on his part to embroil himself with his neighbours would endanger the overthrow of the French monarchy*. These domestic conflicts were kept up with increasing violence till the year 1771, when Lewis XV. had recourse to the desperate expedient of arresting by virtue of *lettres de cachet* the members of the parliament of Paris, banishing most of the provincial parliaments, and substituting in their room other tribunals entirely devoted to the will of the sovereign. This was

* See Vol. II. Chap. I. Sect. VI.

was the moſt outrageous and the moſt fatal ſhock ever given to public opinion in a country where the ſpirit of liberty began to be widely diffuſed, and where the undiſguiſed horrors of deſpotiſm could only ſerve to frighten the people into the oppoſite extremes of anarchy and ſedition. A republican party was viſibly forming, and as the monarch became every day more and more an object of reproach and execration, it is probable that the ſmall-pox, of which he died in May 1774, reſcued him from a much worſe fate, that of periſhing in the ruins of a convulſed empire. Scarcely were the appearances of decency preſerved on his death; and the appellation of "LOUIS *le déſiré*," unanimouſly given to his ſucceſſor, was the bittereſt ſatire on his memory. The young king began his reign with ſeveral popular meaſures; and of theſe none could be more likely to conciliate and ſecure the affections of his ſubjects than the removal of the old miniſtry, and the reſtoration of the parliaments. The latter act, however, was delayed for ſeveral months, and even then accompanied with ſome ungracious circumſtances, a cenſure for their reſiſtance to the late king's commands, and a peremptory injunction to conform exactly to a royal ordinance, read to them on the occaſion, containing many painful, and, as they might ſuppoſe, unconſtitutional limitations of their authority. It required greater talents than Lewis XVI. poſſeſſed, and greater integrity and patriotiſm than prevailed in his council, to unite at this juncture real dignity with judicious condeſcenſion, and to eſtabliſh his throne in the hearts of his people, by ſhewing a more ſincere regard for their rights and happineſs than for the plenitude of his own power. The ſame want of wiſdom and virtue ſoon appeared in the ſyſtem of foreign politics adopted by the new adminiſtration. Perfidiouſneſs, rapacity, ambition, and revenge were its leading features. The king himſelf was of a mild and peaceable temper, but his natural indolence, and the mediocrity of his paſſions, as well as of his abilities, threw the reins of government into other hands; and the prevailing party at court, of

whom

whom the queen was confidered as the head, thought the quarrel between England and her colonies a favorable opportunity for ftriking a decifive blow, and rifing upon the ruin of a detefted rival. Pride and avarice, the defire of avenging the difgraces of the laft war and of grafping at the fame time the advantages of the American trade, rendered the council blind to the confequences, however eafily forefeen, of making Frenchmen the champions of colonial independency,—of fanning in their breafts the fparks of republican enthufiafm,—and of importing with the tobacco of Virginia, which was held out as a grand commercial allurement, all the baneful weeds of faction and licentioufnefs. Unchecked by any apprehenfions of this kind, the court of France fecretly encouraged the Americans in their revolt, and fent them in a covert and treacherous manner confiderable fupplies of money, arms, and ammunition. State-craft had fuggefted the defign of keeping up the appearances of neutrality, and of abftaining from any open declaration, till Great Britain and her colonies fhould have nearly fpent all their blood and treafure in the obftinate conteft. But the difafter which happened to Burgoyne's army, and the conciliatory meafures about to be adopted by the Britifh cabinet, obliged the French miniftry to throw off the mafk much fooner than was at firft intended. They knew that the Americans, notwithftanding the fuccefs at Saratoga, ftill laboured under very great difficulties; and that, for want of internal refources, whilft their foreign trade was almoft annihilated by the Britifh cruifers, it was impoffible for them, without affiftance, to keep a refpectable army in the field for any length of time; and they dreaded, left, under fuch unpromifing circumftances, they fhould be induced to accept the very liberal terms which the mother country was going to propofe at the prefent crifis. It was by urging thefe points very ftrongly, that Doctor Franklin and his affociates accomplifhed the grand object of their commiffion at Paris, and procured the figning of the treaties before-mentioned, by which France, with unparalleled infatuation, pledged herfelf to main-

tain the abſolute independence of a foreign people, while ſhe held, or hoped to hold, her native ſons in vaſſalage and chains.

II. An event, which took place about the ſame time on the continent of Europe, is alſo ſuppoſed to have had ſome ſhare in precipitating thoſe reſolutions of the French council. The late elector of Bavaria having died without iſſue on the thirtieth of December 1777, was ſucceeded both in his dignity and his dominions at large by his general heir, the elector Palatine. But before the latter could well feel his change of ſituation, he unexpectedly found that he had a rival of ſuch ſuperior power and greatneſs to encounter, that all competition on his ſide would be extremely futile and ridiculous. He had ſcarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, when the Auſtrian troops, who had been evidently ſtationed on the frontiers for the purpoſe, and only waiting for the moment of the elector's death, poured on all ſides into the Lower Bavaria, and ſeized upon every place they came to. In the mean time, another ſtrong body advanced to the Upper Palatinate; while a third army of ſixty thouſand men ſeemed ready to follow up the invaſion, upon the ſmalleſt ſhew of reſiſtance. No alternative remained for the elector but to reſign the better half of his new poſſeſſions by compromiſe, or to riſk the immediate loſs of the whole by a feeble oppoſition to the court of Vienna. He therefore gave his involuntary aſſent to terms preſcribed by violence and injuſtice. As ſuch a flagrant attack on the rights of ſucceſſion,—ſuch a diſmemberment and ſpoil of two great electorates, could not fail of alarming all the princes of the empire, and of making an appeal to the ſword inevitable, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that the queen of France, actuated by the impulſes of family pride, as well as of affection for her brother the emperor, exerted all her influence over the cabinet of Verſailles, to involve the French nation in contentions with ſome other power, ſo as to prevent their oppoſing the ſchemes of aggrandizement projected by Joſeph II. The momentary ſucceſs of all her intrigues ſerved only to render their final

nal issue more vexatious and afflicting. After a year's war with Prussia and other members of the Germanic body, the emperor was obliged to relinquish the districts he had so unjustly seized ;* and the fatal treaty with the Americans, for the signing of which Maria Antoinetta had shewn the utmost impatience, may be truly consider-ed as a sort of preface to the death-warrant, which finally led her and her unfortunate husband to the scaffold.

III. In order to defeat, if possible, the effects of this treaty, lord North had hurried the conciliatory bills with the utmost dispatch through both houses of parliament, expecting that such overtures from the mother country, if they arrived in time, would prevent congress from ra-

* The king of Prussia having in vain used every effort to obtain restitution by amicable means, took the field early in the spring. The emperor seemed equally resolute ; and the preparations on both sides were so mighty, that had the fate of Europe depended on the contest, neither the force employed, nor the means applied to, would have appeared inadequate to the importance of the stake. Yet so equal was the distribution of strength, numbers, military skill, discipline, and courage between the two parties, that though either of them seemed able to shake any quarter of the globe to its centre, the effects of their contention was as undecisive, and the campaign as barren of important events, as could have arisen from a state of mutual inability, A kind of langour and wearisomeness, if not an actual desire of peace, was the natural consequence of such a struggle ; and the courts of Versailles and Petersburg having exerted themselves, after the first campaign, to prevent the renewal of hostilities, an armistice took place in March 1789, and in about two months a treaty was concluded, upon fair and equitable principles, The former convention between the elector Palatine and the court of Vienna was annulled ; and the places and districts seized in Bavaria were restored, excepting only the frontier territory appertaining to the regency of Burghausen, which was ceded to the house of Austria, as an equivalent for her formally renouncing all her old, vexatious, and otherwise inextinguishable claims.

tifying the new engagements entered into by their deputies at the court of France. He had even ſent off rough draughts of the bills, immediately on the firſt reading in the houſe of commons, to be circulated among the people of the revolted colonies, that they might know the intentions of the Britiſh government, before the intelligence of what was doing at Paris could reach them, or, at leaſt, before it could receive the formal aſſent of their repreſentatives. The circulation of theſe papers ſerved only to provoke the moſt contemptuous reſolutions on the part of congreſs. They affected to conſider the bills as the ſequel of an inſidious plan formed by the Britiſh government for enſlaving America. The object of them, they maintained, was to diſunite the colonies, create diviſions, and prevent foreign powers from interfering in their behalf. They called them an evidence of the weakneſs, or wickedneſs of the Britiſh government, or both; and, after various other ſarcaſtic ſtrictures, they finally reſolved, "that any man, or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make a ſeparate agreement with the Britiſh commiſſioners, ought to be conſidered as open and avowed enemies; and that the United States neither could, nor would hold any conference with ſuch commiſſioners, unleſs they ſhould as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe in poſitive and expreſs terms acknowledge the independence of the United States." They alſo called upon the ſeveral provinces to uſe the moſt ſtrenuous exertions, and to have their reſpective quotas of troops in the field as ſoon as poſſible, as, they ſaid, it appeared to be the deſign of their enemies to lull them into a fatal ſecurity. Thus inſolence was prepared to meet conceſſion; and the meaſures taken to bring about a re-union with the colonies furniſhed their leaders with new arguments for widening the breach, and diſſevering them for ever from the parent ſtate.

IV. In a few days after [May 2] Mr. Deane arrived expreſs from Paris, with thoſe fatal inſtruments which were to ſtamp a ſeal upon the ſeparation of America from England. The congreſs immediately publiſhed a gazette,

gazette; which, besides a summary of the general information, exhibited some of the most flattering articles of the treaties, with their own comments upon them, in which the extraordinary equity, generosity, and honor of the French king were mentioned in the highest strains of gratitude and admiration. In this piece they seemed to count upon Spain as being already a virtual party to the alliance, and to consider the naval force of both nations as united in their cause. They also built much upon the friendship of other great powers, and boasted of the favorable disposition of Europe in general towards America.

V. Such was the temper and such the proceedings of congress previous to the arrival of the new commissioners from England in the beginning of June. The persons united in this commission were the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, governor Johnstone, and sir Henry Clinton, who had lately taken the command of the army, in the room of sir William Howe.* Discouraging as the prospect was, they entered upon the execution of their office with apparent alacrity; and dispatched a letter with the late acts of parliament, a copy of their commission, and other papers, to the president of the congress: but their secretary Dr. Ferguson, who was intended to convey the pa-

* Sir William, under a pretence that he had not the good fortune to enjoy the necessary confidence of his superiors, had written before Christmas for his majesty's permission to resign, which was, indeed, readily granted to an officer, whose want of gratitude for the alacrity and zeal with which he had been supported by the ministry, could only be equalled by the want of military genius, of wisdom in council, of promptitude in action, and of ardor in the public service, which had marked his whole conduct during the war, and had so often prevented, or checked the certainty of decisive success on the most signal occasions. The mock fight of old chivalry,---the romantic triumph exhibited in honor of him before his departure from Philadelphia, threw a stronger glare on all his errors, disappointments, and disgrace. pers,

pers, and to act as an agent for conducting the negociation upon the ſpot with the congreſs, being refuſed a paſſport for that purpoſe, they were obliged to forward them by the ordinary poſts. The offers now made to the Americans left nothing to be wiſhed for on their part, in point either of immediate liberty or permanent ſecurity; and the moſt ardent hopes were expreſſed by the commiſſioners, that the people, remembering the former happy intercourſe of good offices, and forgetting recent animoſities, would prefer a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the parent ſtate to an inſincere and unnatural foreign alliance. After deliberating for ſome days on the ſubject of theſe communications, the congreſs, through the medium of their preſident, returned for anſwer, that the acts of parliament, the commiſſion, and the commiſſioners' letter ſuppoſed the people of the American ſtates to be ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, and were founded on an idea of dependance which was utterly inadmiſſible: but they were ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, whenever the king of Great Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

VI. Before theſe inſuperable obſtacles were thrown in the way of any farther advances towards an accommodation, Mr. Johnſtone, one of the commiſſioners, having ſerved as a captain in the navy on the American coaſt, and afterwards been governor of a province there, in conſequence of which he had formed conſiderable connexions, and an extenſive acquaintance in that country, reſolved to avail himſelf of ſo flattering an introduction, in hopes that it might facilitate the accompliſhment of the great object in view. This ſeemed the more feaſible, as his parliamentary conduct ſince that time had been in ſuch direct oppoſition to all thoſe meaſures which were deemed hoſtile or oppreſſive with regard to the colonies, that it could ſcarcely fail of greatly increaſing any influ-

ence,

ence which he might then have acquired. Under such circumstances he deemed it reasonable to conclude, that the direct applications of friendship, under the covert and freedom of a private correspondence, together with the sanction of personal esteem and opinion, would operate more happily in smoothing or removing any difficulties that might arise, than the stiff, tedious, and formal proceedings of public negociation. He was soon mortified to find that his confidential letters to several persons of weight and character were laid before congress; that some passages in them were, by a false and insidious construction, represented as attempts to corrupt the integrity of that assembly; and that he was even charged with employing agents to bribe some of the leading members; which they assigned as a reason for interdicting all intercourse with him, especially when, as they said, they were to negociate upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty and virtue was interested. In his reply, he attributed those defamatory aspersions thrown on his character to the malice and treachery of the congress, who designed them only for the purpose of inflaming their wretched constituents to endure all the calamities of war, and as a means for continuing their delusion, thereby to frustrate all the good effects intended by the commission for the restoration of tranquillity. But to disappoint their views in this respect, he declared, that he should for the future decline acting as a commissioner, or taking the smallest share in any business, in which the congress should be concerned.

VII. The efforts of the other commissioners proved equally fruitless. After a long continued controversy with some writers who defended the repulsive proceedings of the congress, and a variety of appeals to the people at large, they announced their intention to return to England, in a sort of farewel manifesto, which was published on the third of October, and addressed not only to the members of the congress, but to the provincial assemblies, and to all the inhabitants of the colonies, of every rank and denomination. In this address, they briefly recapitulated

recapitulated the different steps taken by them to accomplish the object of their commission, and the refusal of congress to listen to the most generous and benevolent overtures: they again set forth the extent of the blessings they were impowered to confer, which included the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interests and force: they reminded the colonies of their solemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of the contest, *that they took arms only for the redress of grievances*; and then asked, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, were not fully redressed in the present conciliatory offers: notwithstanding the obstructions they had met with, they were still ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for the re-establishment of peace; and to treat not only with deputies from all the states collectively, but with any provincial assembly or convention individually, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their manifesto: they suggested to every class and description of persons, whether in civil, military, or ecclesiastical capacities, or in private stations, the consideration of such motives as were severally suited to each, and might be supposed to have the greatest influence on them all: they also proclaimed a general pardon for treasons and rebellious practices committed at any time previous to the date of this manifesto, to such as should, within the term of forty days already limited, withdraw from their opposition to the British government, and demean themselves in future as good and loyal subjects; warning the people, at the same time, of the total and material change which would take place in the whole nature and future conduct of the war, if they should still persevere in their obstinacy, more especially as that was founded on the pretended alliance with France. In a counter-manifesto, which the congress issued almost a month after, they did not attempt by fair or manly argument to overturn any one of the positions so candidly and so forcibly urged by the commissioners; but after a great deal of cant and misrepresentation, which were indeed, to use their own words,
a mockery

a mockery both of religion and common fenfe, they concluded with declaring, that if their enemies prefumed to execute their threats, they would take fuch exemplary vengeance as fhould deter others from a like conduct *. All hopes of terminating the troubles by lenient means being thus completely blafted, the commiffioners took their final leave of America about the latter end of November †, and returned to England with experimental proofs of what had often been afferted by the friends of government in the Britifh fenate, "that the leaders of congrefs were actuated by an infatiable thirft of dominion and power;—that conceffions would have no other effect than that of increafing their infolence;—and that nothing but fuperior force could ever fubject the revolted colonies to the conftitutional authority of the mother country."

VIII. From the war of words between the congrefs and the Britifh commiffioners, the tranfition was very

* It was particularly curious to fee congrefs in this counter-manifefto boaft of "the example they had fet of refpect for the laws which are held facred among civilized nations," at the very time when, in open violation of thofe laws, and without the fhadow of an excufe for fo fhamelefs a breach of the public faith, they detained in captivity the brave troops who had furrendered at Saratoga, trufting to the honor of a military convention.

† Some time before their departure, the marquis De la Fayette fent a very curious letter to the earl of Carlifle, challenging that nobleman, as firft commiffioner, to the field, there to anfwer in his perfon, and in fingle combat, for fome harfhnefs of reflection upon the conduct of the French court and nation, which had appeared in thofe public acts or inftruments, that he and his brethren had iffued in their political capacity. It is almoft needlefs to obferve, that fuch a propofal, which could only be excufed as the effect of national levity, or of the heat and inexperience of youth, was rejected by the noble lord to whom it was addreffed, with the flight that it deferved.

rapid to a war of deeds and arms. But the plan of operations was now materially changed. Through the interference of a hostile maritime power, the command of the sea was about to be disputed by the contending parties. Hence greater circumspection became necessary in the choice of posts for the British army. It was uncertain where the French might attempt to strike a blow, whether upon the continent of America, or in the West Indies. It was therefore proper that the army should occupy a station, from which re-inforcements might be most easily and expeditiously sent wherever they should be required. Philadelphia was very little adapted to such a purpose, being a hundred miles distant from the sea, with which it communicated only by a winding river. For these reasons, and to guard against the danger of being opposed by a superior naval force in the Delaware, and at a time when a junction was also expected between the troops under Gates and Washington, the earl of Carlisle had taken out orders with him for the evacuation of Philadelphia, which was effected at three in the morning of the eighteenth of June, the army retiring to the point of land below the town formed by the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkil, where the boats and vessels belonging to the navy were ready to receive them. So judicious was the admiral's arrangement on this occasion, that the whole army, with its baggage, was passed over the Delaware, and encamped on the Jersey shore by ten in the forenoon, having met with little interruption from the enemy, though the Americans entered Philadelphia before the British entirely left it. The great body of the loyalists of that city went along with the army: such of them as had the imprudence to remain behind were treated with great severity: some were banished: several were thrown into prison; and a few suffered death.

IX. The march of the British army through the Jerseys was not unattended with difficulty. Encumbered with a vast train of baggage, extending the length of twelve miles, the whole country hostile, the bridges broken down before, and a vigilant enemy pressing close be-

hind

hind, the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection of the new general were neceſſary to make a vigorous and effectual defence againſt thoſe attacks to which a retreating army is ſo peculiarly expoſed. Inſtead of proceeding in a direct route to Brunſwick, the general determined, by bending his march to the right, and approaching the ſea-coaſt, at once to diſappoint the expectation of the enemy, and to avoid the difficulty attending the paſſage of the Rariton. On the evening of the twenty ſeventh of June, the army encamped in the neighbourhood of Freehold Court-houſe in the county of Monmouth, and reſumed their march early the next morning. Scarcely were they in motion when the enemy were diſcovered moving in force at ſome diſtance on both flanks. The firſt diviſion under general Knyphauſen proceeding with the eſcort of carriages to the heights of Middletown, ſir Henry Clinton immediately formed the reſt of his troops, with a view to bring on a general engagement. Lee advanced with the van of the American army to the attack, in conformity to the directions of general Waſhington; but ſeveral of the brigades under his command being thrown into confuſion by an impetuous aſſault of the Britiſh cavalry, he ordered a retreat, with a view to form anew in an advantageous poſition behind a ravine and moraſs. In the interim Waſhington arrived at the head of the main body, and expreſſed in ſtrong terms his aſtoniſhment and indignation at the retrograde motion of the van. Lee replied with equal warmth; but in the reſult, the troops of the van were ordered to form in front of the moraſs, where an obſtinate engagement enſued, till the Americans being again worſted and broken, Lee was a ſecond time under the neceſſity of ordering a retreat, which he conducted with great ſkill and courage, himſelf being one of the laſt who remained on the field.* The

* Lee's haughty ſpirit could not brook the language which Waſhington had haſtily uſed, and he wrote him in conſequence two paſſionate letters, which occaſioned his being put under immediate arreſt; and a court martial

The position taken by Washington with the main body rendered it impossible to attack him in front with any prospect of success; and though his left flank was actually turned by the light infantry and the queen's rangers, yet sir Henry Clinton, satisfied with the effectual check given to the enemy, and seeing no likelihood of any decisive advantage, recalled his brave troops who were pressing on to the charge, notwithstanding the fatigue they had already undergone through the heat of the day, which was so intense that three serjeants and fifty six privates dropped dead without a wound. The whole loss of the British army amounted to three hundred and fifty eight men, including twenty officers, of whom lieutenant colonel Monckton, who fell at the head of the second batallion of grenadiers, was universally and deservedly lamented. The tribute of affection and respect paid to his memory on the field, and in the very heat of the action, will best shew how dearly he was loved and how highly esteemed by his brave companions. During the confusion of a dangerous cannonade, the battalion in parties relieved each other, until, with their bayonets, (being destitute of more proper tools) they perfected a grave, where they laid the body of their gallant leader, placing over it with their hands the earth they had moistened with their tears. The loss of the Americans, according to their own accounts, was very little more than that of the British army: it amounted to three hundred and sixty one men, including thirty two officers. Sir Henry Clinton having allowed his troops proper time for rest, resumed his march about midnight, to join general Knyphausen's division with the baggage, and proceeded without farther molestation to Sandy Hook, where the fleet under lord Howe had got round to receive them; and the army embarking on the fifth of July, landed the same day at New York.

martial being held upon him for disobedience of orders, misbehaviour in action, and disrespect to the commander in chief, he was found guilty upon every charge, and suspended from all military command for twelve months.

X. Two

X. Two days after the conveyance of the army, lord Howe received intelligence by his cruisers, that the count D'Estaigne, who had sailed from Toulon in April, was arrived on the coast of Virginia. It was not long before the count appeared off Sandy Hook, with the fleet under his command, consisting of twelve sail of the line and three large frigates; to which lord Howe could oppose only eleven ships of inferior magnitude and weight of metal, with some frigates and sloops. These were ranged with great skill in the harbour; and the inequality of force seemed to be fully compensated by the judicious dispositions of the admiral, and the ardour, intrepidity, and confidence of success, which animated the whole British fleet and army. The count D'Estaigne did not think proper to put their resolution to the proof. Either regarding the attempt as too dangerous, or perhaps having appeared before the harbour only by way of a feint to draw off the attention of the British commanders from the real object of his aim, after remaining at anchor for eleven days, he set sail to the southward as far as the mouth of the Delaware; and then changing his course, steered directly for Rhode Island, in order to co-operate with general Sullivan in an enterprise against Newport. The approach of the French fleet to this harbour created the unpleasant necessity of burning the Orpheus, Lark, Juno, and Cerberus frigates, and of sinking the Flora and Falcon. But this was the only loss resulting from so formidable an invasion. The commander of the garrison, sir Robert Pigot, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and lord Howe, to whom he had sent intelligence by a dispatch-boat, being re-inforced by some ships from England, part of a squadron under admiral Byron, immediately stood out to sea, and reached Rhode Island on the ninth of August. After much manoeuvring for the weather-gage, the adverse fleets were separated by a violent tempest, by which the great ships of the French sqadron were so much damaged, that the count found it absolutely necessary to go to Boston to refit. This threw a fatal damp upon the spi-

rits of general Sullivan's army, which had landed on the north of the island, and had begun to construct batteries, and make regular approaches, but was now so disheartened by the departure of the French fleet, that their commander could no longer keep them together, and was happy in being able, even with some loss, to retreat to the continent.

XI. The separation and dispersion of the two fleets gave occasion to the accidental meeting of single ships, and produced engagements between them, which terminated so much to the honor of British valor and seamanship, as to excite deep regret that the storm should have intervened to prevent a general action. In the evening of the thirteenth of August, captain Dawson in the Renown of fifty guns fell in with the Languedoc of eighty-four guns, D'Estaigne's own ship, which had lost her rudder and her masts; and engaged her with such advantage as to flatter the English captain with the prospect of so extraordinary a capture, when the appearance of several other ships of the squadron compelled him to desist. Commodore Hotham in the Preston of fifty guns fought the Tonnant of eighty the same evening with similar gallantry and similar success. But the last of the engagements, produced by the hurricane, between ships of disproportionate force, puts all naval calculation from weight of metal at utter defiance, and gives the palm to undaunted bravery and superior skill. In the afternoon of the sixteenth, the Isis, a ship also of fifty guns, commanded by captain Raynor, was chased by the Cæsar, a French ship of seventy-four guns and in no sort injured by the storm; but after a desperate conflict, which lasted for an hour and a half, the Cæsar sheered off, and putting before the wind, left the Isis incapable of pursuing, from the damage she had sustained in her masts, sails, and rigging. In other respects she had been very little injured; and only one man was killed, and fifteen wounded: the French ship was so much damaged in her hull, that she was forced to bear away for Boston; and her killed and wounded amounted to fifty, including in the

latter

latter her captain, the celebrated Bougainville, whose arm was shot off in the action. Lord Howe, with all possible expedition, followed his antagonist to Boston, in the hope of a favorable opportunity of attack; but found the French fleet lying in Nantasket Road, so well defended by the forts and batteries erected on the points of land and the islands adjacent, that it was judged absolutely impracticable. His lordship therefore returned to New York about the middle of September. During his absence, six more ships of admiral Byron's squadron had arrived at that port; and as, in consequence of these arrivals, the British naval force was now unquestionably superior to the fleet under the count D'Estaigne, and would be still farther increased by the arrival of admiral Byron in the Princess Royal, with the Culloden, both of which had been driven into Halifax, his lordship thought this a proper moment for availing himself of the leave he had some time before obtained to retire from the American station, on account of his health; and, resigning the command of the fleet to admiral Gambier, took his departure for England.

XII. On the first intelligence of the danger that threatened Rhode Island, sir Henry Clinton, embarking with four thousand men for its relief, had two other material objects in view, and would probably have succeeded, if he had not been detained for some days by contrary winds in his passage through the Sound. One of these objects was to cut off Sullivan's retreat to the continent; and the other was to attack the Americans in their head quarters and principal place of arms at Providence, the destruction or dismantling of which would have removed a constant source of apprehension from the immediate vicinity of Rhode Island. The delay in the passage, and Sullivan's escape having frustrated these designs, sir Henry, on his return to New York, dispatched major-general Grey, with the fleet of transports and troops under convoy of the Carysfort frigate, upon an expedition to the eastward. Their first object was to exterminate some nests of privateers, which abounded in the rivers and

creeks

creeks adjoining to Buzzard's Bay, in that part of New England called the Plymouth colony. They performed this service in less than twenty-four hours, destroying in their course about seventy sail of shipping, with a great number of small craft, besides the magazines, wharfs, &c. on the Bedford and Fair Haven sides of the Acushinet river. To complete the success of their enterprise, they proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard, and there obtained a valuable contribution of ten thousand sheep and three hundred oxen for the army at New York.

XIII. Another expedition was soon after set on foot against Egg Harbour, on the Jersey coast, where the enemy had a great many privateers and prizes. This purpose likewise was accomplished, and a considerable number of ships, storehouses, and saltworks destroyed. A subsequent delay in Egg Harbour, occasioned by contrary winds, gave rise to the performance of new service, and that of a more active and spirited nature, than what had been already executed. A French captain, with some private men, who had deserted from Pulaski's American legion, gave such an account of the careless manner in which three troops of horse and as many companies of infantry belonging to that corps were cantoned, as suggested to captain Ferguson, the commander of the British detachment, the probability of surprising them. The success of the attempt was answerable to his expectation. The quarters of the enemy were surrounded in the night; and very few escaped. As this surprise was effected within two miles of a force considerably superior in number to the assailants, celerity of execution, the necessity of an immediate retreat, and a report spread by the deserters, that Pulaski had issued public orders forbidding his corps to grant any quarter to the British troops, concurred to render the slaughter more dreadful, only five being made prisoners. A few days before, a whole regiment of light horse, under the command of lieutenant colonel Baylor, was surprised in the same manner, in the village of old Taapan, by major general

Grey

Grey, acting under the direction of lord Cornwallis. The greatest part of the Americans fell victims to the carnage incident to the confusion and uncertainty of a nightly attack. Their commander was dangerously wounded, and taken with some other prisoners. As this unfortunate regiment had been detached by general Washington to harass parties of the British army employed in foraging on the banks of the North River, the suddenness and severity of the blow struck such a terror into the provincials, that no farther attempt was made to interrupt the operations of the foragers.

XIV. An undertaking of far greater importance was now determined upon by Sir Henry Clinton, who detached a considerable body of troops under the command of colonel Campbell, convoyed by a squadron under sir Hyde Parker, to attempt the recovery of the province of Georgia,—general Prevost, governor of East Florida, having at the same time orders to co-operate with them. On the twenty third of December, the whole armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah; and having procured a landing place, after some difficulties, in the morning of the twenty ninth, colonel Campbell marched directly to attack the rebel forces, which were drawn up, under major general Robert Howe, about half a mile east of Savannah. No victory was ever more complete.—Thirty eight commissioned officers, four hundred and fifteen non-commissioned and privates, forty eight pieces of cannon, twenty three mortars, the fort, the shipping, the capital of Georgia, were all in the possession of the conquerors before dark. The moderation and clemency that accompanied this signal triumph reflected no less honor on colonel Campbell than the judicious and spirited measures which led to it. His humane conduct was the more admirable, as he had been treated by the Americans, when their prisoner, with the utmost indignity and cruelty.* In less than a fortnight, the whole province of Georgia, except Sunbury, was recovered; and just as colonel Campbell was preparing to reduce that

* See the note at the bottom of page 85. town,

town, it ſurrendered to general Prevoſt, who now took the command of the Britiſh forces on his arrival at Savannah.

XV. During theſe ſucceſſes on the ſea-coaſt, a deſultory war was carried on in ſome of the interior and back ſettlements, between the Indians and the coloniſts, the latter too generally adopting all the ſavage practices of the former. Mutual inroads were made, and waſte and cruelty were inflicted and retorted with inſatiable revenge. In the courſe of theſe barbarous hoſtilities, too ſhocking to admit of detail, the flouriſhing new ſettlement of Wyoming, on the banks of the Suſquehanna, fell a ſacrifice to an incurſion of the Indians; and the Indian ſettlements of Unadilla and Anaquago, upon the upper parts of the ſame river, which were alſo inhabited by white people attached to the royal cauſe, were in their turn ravaged and deſtroyed by the Americans. After a glance at ſuch ſcenes of horror and diſguſt, the mind feels a ſort of relief even in tracing the lamentable effects of civilized warfare.

XVI. The projects of count D'Eſtaigne being totally diſconcerted in America, where the people thought that little thanks were due to him for his ineffective promiſes*, he ſet ſail for the Weſt Indies on the third of November, in order to ſecond the operations of the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the iſland of Dominique. On the very ſame day that the French fleet left Boſton, a detachment of five thouſand troops, under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron commanded by

* His abandonment of general Sullivan in the attempt on Rhode Iſland, which was undertaken only in conſequence of his promiſe of co-operation, excited great murmuring all over the continent, and led to ſome dangerous riots between the American and French ſeamen at Boſton and Charleſtown. Means were fallen upon, however, to appeaſe theſe tumults, and great pains were taken to give ſatisfaction to the French, whom, at this early ſtage of the connexion, it would have been highly imprudent to diſguſt.

commodore

commodore Hotham, failed from Sandy Hook, and arrived at Barbadoes, on the tenth of December. Without suffering the troops to disembark, an expedition was immediately resolved upon against the island of St. Lucia, where a landing was effected on the thirteenth. By the spirited exertions of general Meadows and admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had now devolved, several of the batteries and advanced posts were carried, when count D'Estaigne appeared in view with a far superior force, having on board a large body of troops, with which he hoped to effect the entire reduction of the English islands. The squadron of admiral Barrington consisted only of three ships of the line, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which he stationed across the entrance of the Careenage, supported by several batteries erected on shore. On the morning of the fifteenth, the French admiral bore down with ten sail of the line, but met with so gallant a reception that he thought proper in a short time to draw off. In the afternoon, he renewed the attack with his whole squadron; and a furious cannonade, directed chiefly against admiral Barrington's division, was kept up for several hours, without making any impression on the English line; and the French admiral was again obliged to desist. Three days after, having plied a little to windward, he landed a body of five thousand men, and putting himself at their head, marched with great resolution to the assault of the British lines: but they were received by general Meadows with the same invincible courage as they had before experienced from admiral Barrington. "Their two first attacks," says general Grant, "were made with the impetuosity of Frenchmen; and they were repulsed with the determined bravery of Britons." They rallied again, and returned to the charge the third time; but the affair was now soon decided: they were totally broken, and obliged to fly in the utmost disorder and confusion. Four hundred were left dead on the field; and even, according to their own accounts, out of eleven hundred wounded five hundred were rendered incapable of service. The magnitude

of

of their loſs, exceeding in number the whole of the Britiſh troops that were engaged, evinces the deſperation and perſeverance with which the French made and ſupported their attacks; and places above all praiſe the maſterly diſpoſition formed by general Meadows for the defence of his poſt*, and the unſhaken intrepidity of the men to whom that defence was intruſted. What excites equal aſtoniſhment is, that only thirteen of the Britiſh troops were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and eight miſſing. After this ſevere defeat, D'Eſtaigne continued on the iſland in a ſtate of ſeeming irreſolution for ten days longer. At length re-embarking his troops in the night of the twenty eighth, he ſet ſail for Martinico next morning, and abandoned St. Lucia to its fate. Whilſt his fleet was yet in view, the French governor, M. de Micoud, offered to capitulate; and although he was now deſtitute of all hope of relief, the moſt honorable terms were granted to him, the liberality of the Britiſh commanders thus adding to the luſtre of ſo ſplendid a conqueſt, and which was alſo conſidered as more than equivalent to the loſs of Dominique.†

XVII. Eight days after the departure of the count D'Eſtaigne, admiral Byron arrived with his fleet, unfortunately too late to cut off the retreat of the enemy. All this brave admiral's proceedings had hitherto been

* It may here be proper to obſerve that the very day ſe'enight after the ſurrender of Dominique to the marquis de Bouillé, the French were diſpoſſeſſed of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, by a ſmall ſquadron which vice-admiral Montague had diſpatched from Newfoundland, immediately on receiving advice of the hoſtile operations of the count D'Eſtaigne on the coaſt of America.

† Though wounded in the beginning of the action, he could not be perſuaded to quit the field nor even to have the aſſiſtance of his ſurgeons; but on horſeback viſited every quarter where his preſence was neceſſary, and continued to give his orders, notwithſtanding the anguiſh of his wound, until the triumph of the day was completed.

marred

marred by the oppofition of the elements. In the voyage from England, whence he had been difpatched after the Toulon fleet, his fhips were feparated in a ftorm, and did not reach New York but at long intervals, and many of them in fo fhattered a ftate that they were not in readinefs to proceed to fea till the eighteenth of October. He then went in queft of the count D'Eftaigne; but his ill fortune ftill continued to perfecute him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Bofton, when on the firft of November, another tremendous ftorm arofe, which fo difabled his fleet, that he was obliged to put back to Rhode Ifland to refit. This afforded D'Eftaigne a favorable opportunity of proceeding to the Weft Indies, and of making the attempt, though unfuccefsful, which has been juft related; while Byron was weather-bound at Rhode Ifland for a fortnight after his fhips were ready to fail, and even in his paffage thence had one of them difmafted. To thefe untoward circumftances the efcape of the French fleet was entirely owing: and fo fenfible was D'Eftaigne of the danger of encountering even an equality of Britifh naval force, that for fix months together he only ventured twice out of the bay of Fort Royal, and both times haftily returned as foon as Byron's fleet was feen ftanding towards him. Squadrons were frequently fent to cruife off the mouth of the harbour where the count lay, and, if poffible, to provoke him to come out and rifk an engagement; but no mortification of this fort could induce him to deviate from his defenfive plan.

XVIII. Whilft the French, from having been the affailants, were thus reduced, as it were, to a ftate of fiege in the Weft Indies, they had nearly loft all their poffeffions in the Eaft. When a rupture was feen to be inevitable, fo expeditioufly had the Englifh Eaft India company tranfmitted their orders, and with fo much promptitude were thefe orders executed, that the war broke out in the moft diftant extremities of the empire almoft as foon as in the parts neareft to its centre. Chandernagore and all the factories belonging to the French in Bengal, at Yanaon and Karical, with their fettlement

 at

at Maſſulipatam, were wreſted from them during the ſummer; and, in the month of October, the town and fortreſs of Pondicherry, the capital of the French poſſeſſions, and the ſeat of their government in India, with an immenſe train of artillery, and a garriſon of three thouſand men, nine hundred of whom were Europeans; after being inveſted for two months and ten days by an army under general Munro by land, and by a ſmall naval force under ſir Edward Vernon, who had previouſly defeated a French ſquadron under M. de Fronjolly *, was ſurrendered by capitulation. Thus in leſs than four months, the French power in Bengal, and on the coaſt of Coromandel, was entirely annihilated.

XIX. From theſe ſcenes of remote hoſtility, it is now time to advert to the ſituation of affairs in Europe. After the delivery of the reſcript announcing the treaty between France and the revolted colonies, though war was not formally declared by Great Britain, the moſt aſſiduous preparations were made for it on both ſides. The count D'Eſtaigne's ſquadron, as before deſcribed, immediately ſailed from Toulon; and as ſoon as his deſtination could be aſcertained by the Britiſh miniſtry, a fleet of equal force was diſpatched after him under the command of admiral Byron. But it was at Breſt that the utmoſt vigour of naval equipment ſeemed to be exerted by the French, while the ſtale device of threatening an invaſion was again reſorted to, and large bodies of troops were marched from the interior parts of the kingdom to the ſea-coaſt bordering on the Britiſh channel. In England nothing was neglected, for the purpoſe either of defence, or of pouring juſt vengeance upon a perfidious enemy.

* Commodore Vernon's force conſiſted of only the Rippon of ſixty guns, the Coventry of twenty eight, the Seahorſe of twenty, the Cormorant ſloop, and an Indiaman: that of the enemy conſiſted of a ſixty four-gun ſhip, two frigates, one of thirty ſix, the other of thirty two guns, and two India ſhips armed for war: one of the French frigates was taken: the reſt left Pondicherry to its fate.

my. To guard againſt the poſſibility of an invaſion, the militia were called out and embodied; and a Britiſh fleet of twenty ſhips of the line was cruiſing in the channel, before the grand fleet of France, notwithſtanding all the advantages of long concerted plans, of concealment and treachery, was in readineſs to come out of Breſt harbour.

XX. Admiral Keppel, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit and reputation had been fixed upon to command the channel fleet. His talents, experience, and popularity certainly gave him juſt claims to ſuch an appointment: yet there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that the baneful influence of his party connections had chilled, if not totally deſtroyed in him that noble enthuſiaſm, that patriotic ardour in the cauſe he undertook, which is more eſſential, perhaps, than any other requiſite to promote, and even to command ſucceſs. He ſailed from St. Helen's on the thirteenth of June, with a diſcretionary power of acting according to circumſtances, as no blow had yet been ſtruck by the enemy, which could bring upon them the direct charge of aggreſſion, though their leaguing with the rebel ſubjects of the Britiſh crown was a ſufficient denunciation of hoſtility. Juſt at the entrance of the Bay of Biſcay, on the ſeventeenth, the admiral diſcovered two French frigates, the Licorne and the Belle Poule, very intent on taking a ſurvey of his fleet. As they refuſed to bring to, after the uſual ſignal for that purpoſe, a chaſe enſued, when the Licorne, being overtaken towards evening by ſeveral ſhips of the fleet, conſented to ſail with them during the night; but, in the morning, diſcovering an intention to get off, a ſhot was fired acroſs her way to make her keep her courſe, upon which ſhe ſuddenly poured a whole broadſide of her great guns and muſketry into the America, an Engliſh line-of-battle ſhip which happened to be neareſt to her, at the very moment that lord Longford, the commander, was ſtanding upon the gunwale of his own ſhip, in friendly converſation with the French captain. Such a wicked and audacious bravado, though inſtantly followed by the ſtriking of her colours, and happily attended with no

other effect than that of wounding four of the America's crew, might well have justified the return of a broadside which would probably have sent the French frigate to the bottom. But lord Longford, with a magnanimity that did him honor, restrained his resentment, and satisfied himself with ordering the Licorne under the stern of the Victory, admiral Keppel's ship. The Belle Poule, after a warm engagement with the Arethusa, escaped by running on shore. The Pallas also, another French frigate, being discovered reconnoitring, was conducted into the fleet and detained. From the papers found on board these frigates, admiral Keppel obtained such information of the strength of the French fleet fitting out at Brest, as determined him to return into port, and wait for a re-inforcement. The fleet accordingly came to an anchor at St. Helen's on the twenty seventh of June; and with such dispatch were the measures for re-inforcing it carried into execution, that the admiral was again at sea by the middle of July, with an addition of ten ships of the line.

XXI. In the mean time, the French fleet, consisting of thirty two ships of the line, commanded by the count D'Orvilliers, had sailed from Brest; and immediately on its departure, general letters of reprisal against the king of Great Britain and his subjects, grounded on the capture of the Pallas and Licorne, were issued by the court of France. The two fleets came in sight of each other in the afternoon of the twenty third of July; and admiral Keppel threw out a signal for forming the line, but his ships being much dispersed, night came on by the time they were able to get into their proper stations, and before morning the French obtained the weather-gage. For four successive days did the British admiral, by chasing to windward, endeavour to bring the enemy to action, which the latter seemed very desirous of avoiding. At length, in the morning of the twenty seventh, the British fleet then redoubling its efforts to profit by a slight variation of the wind in its favour, a dark squall suddenly came on, and at the clearing up of the weather in about half an hour, the French fleet was perceived to have fallen

len to leeward, and was now so near the leading ships in the van of the British fleet, commanded by sir Robert Harland, as to begin to cannonade them. An engagement ensued, which lasted about two hours, the fleets passing on contrary tacks, and in opposite directions. As soon as they had cleared each other, and the firing had ceased, the British admiral wore his ship to return upon the enemy, and threw out a signal for the rest of the fleet to form the line; but at this moment, observing that some of his ships, disabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the first place obliged to take measures for their safety. By the manœuvres necessary for this purpose, and by the length of time required for repairing the damages sustained by the ships of the rear division under sir Hugh Palliser, which had come last out of the action, the day was so far spent before they could be again brought into their stations in the line, that nothing now remained but the expectation of the commander in chief, "that the French would fight it out handsomely next day." D'Orvilliers put on every appearance of intending to do so; but in the night he quitted his station, and steered for the coast of France, leaving three of his frigates to shew lights at proper intervals, corresponding to the leading ships of the three divisions of his fleet, so as to remove all suspicion of his retreat. In the morning the rearmost of his ships were at such a distance as to be scarcely discernible; and as their inferiority had been fully demonstrated both in the action, and by their present flight, it was matter of sincere regret to eyer British patriot, that the attack had not been renewed the preceding evening, and that so glorious an opportunity was now lost of giving a death-blow to the French navy at the very opening of the war. A pursuit being deemed useless, admiral Keppel returned to Plymouth to repair the damage done to his fleet, and then resuming his former station, kept the sea as long as the approaching winter season would admit. The French fleet, being also refitted, ventured out of Brest; but instead of directing

their courſe where they were ſure of encountering an enemy, they made their way to the ſouthward, where they were as certain of meeting none, and where their cruiſe could anſwer no other purpoſe than merely that of parade.

XXII. Though the twenty ſeventh of July certainly was not " a proud day to England," yet ſome circumſtances aroſe out of the engagement which may be deemed fortunate. It took place at a critical time, when ſeveral Britiſh fleets of homeward-bound merchantmen were expected in the channel; and as D'Orvilliers was driven into Breſt to refit, it happened that during this interval the fleets arrived in ſafety. The action had alſo another good effect; it impreſſed upon the French ſuch a conſciouſneſs of their inequality to a renewal of the conteſt, that, in order to avoid it, they kept loitering about Cape Finiſterre, and abandoned their own coaſts and the bay to the Britiſh fleet; by which means the trade to England arrived from the different quarters of the world, in a ſtate of ſecurity ſcarcely exceeded by that of peace, while the French commerce became a prey to the Engliſh cruiſers, in a degree which few former wars had equalled for the time. But theſe advantages, however ſubſtantial, could not ſatisfy the public for the neglect of what they thought a favorable opportunity of terminating the war by a ſingle blow. The failure of a complete victory was by ſome attributed to the commander in chief for not puſhing his ſucceſs, and by others to ſir Hugh Palliſer for not obeying with all poſſible promptitude the ſignals of his ſuperior officer, preparatory to a ſecond attack. Some ſevere ſtrictures on the vice-admiral's diſregard of orders having appeared in the public prints, he wrote to admiral Keppel, requiring from him an expreſs contradiction of ſuch foul aſperſions. With this requeſt the admiral peremptorily refuſed to comply; upon which ſir Hugh Palliſer publiſhed in one of the morning papers a ſtatement of particulars relating to the action, with an introductory letter containing a great deal of implied cenſure on the commander in chief. The latter immediately

acquainted the first lord of the admiralty, that he could never sail, or act in conjunction with the vice-admiral of the blue, until matters were thoroughly explained by that officer. The indiscreet zeal of the partisans on both sides soon carried the dispute to such a height as had nearly created a fatal dissention in the naval service. It was taken up with great warmth in the house of lords on the very first day of the session, [Nov. 26] and afterwards discussed in the house of commons with still greater vehemence, both the admiral and vice-admiral being present, and taking a share in the debates, which ended in a declaration on the vice-admiral's part, "that finding he could not obtain justice by any personal application, and that no public motives could induce the admiral to bring forward any charge against him, which might afford an opportunity for the vindication of his character, he had been driven by necessity, (not having a right to demand a trial on himself) in order to repair the injury done to his honor, to lay several articles of accusation against admiral Keppel, tending to shew, as he would hereafter demonstrate, that the failure of success on the twenty-seventh of July, with the subsequent consequences and disappointment to the nation, were owing to the misconduct and fault of that commander."

1779. XXIII. In consequence of charges now specifically pointed out, the board of admiralty thinking themselves obliged to give the necessary directions for proceeding to trial, it commenced at Portsmouth the seventh of January, and was not closed till the eleventh of the next month. The result of it was very flattering to the commander in chief: he was not only acquitted, but the charges against him were declared to be malicious and ill-founded. The acquittal was celebrated in London for two nights successively with the usual testimonies of popular joy, but was also disgraced by the usual ebullitions of popular outrage. Even the iron gates and pallisades of the Admiralty were but a weak fence against the fury of the mob; and the houses of sir Hugh Palliser, of lord Sandwich, and of several others, were threatened

threatened to be demolished, until troops were brought forward to their protection. Admiral Keppel's friends were not less active to obtain for him some tributes of parliamentary applause. The thanks of both houses were voted to him for his conduct. One member only of the commons, Mr. Stuart, had the *firmness*, for many, it was believed, had the *inclination*, when the question was put, to say, in a very audible and impressive tone of voice, No. Sir Hugh Palliser had also obtained a court martial on himself, and was acquitted, but not without a slight censure. He now felt the necessity of giving way to the storm of party; and successively resigned his place at the admiralty board, his lieutenant generalship of marines, and his government of Scarborough Castle, besides vacating his seat in the house of commons. The want of temper and policy appears to have been his greatest crime. His worst enemies were forced to acknowledge his signal bravery on the twenty seventh of July: if he was really blamable for a voluntary neglect of signals and contempt of orders after the action, the commander in chief cannot well escape censure for not enforcing obedience, when he knew the honor and interest of his country to be at stake.

XXIV. Even a slight sketch of the violent and factious debates, which took up the time and distracted the attention of parliament during the greater part of this session, would be equally useless and unentertaining. The members of the opposition in both houses exhausted the fertility of their invention in diversifying the modes of attack on all the ministers, but more especially on the noble earl at the head of the naval department, bringing forward a variety of motions, sometimes of censure on his conduct, and at other times more directly for his removal from his majesty's service. It was easy to see, that these motions originated from the rage of disappointment, the madness of party, and malevolence of faction. In whatever new shape they came forward, they were therefore rejected by as many distinct negatives.

XXV. It was not likely that the supplies for the public

lic service, however justified by the exigencies of the state, would escape animadversion. Lord North, at the opening of his budget, stated with great candor the deficiency of the last year's taxes, the unavoidable increase of the national expenditure, the difficulty he had been under in negociating a loan, and the distant prospect of a peace. The first evil, which arose from the operation of the servants tax having been postponed, and from the under-rating of the houses, and other errors in that plan of assessment, admitted of an easy and effectual remedy. The increase of expences could not be avoided, without relaxing our exertions when they ought to be most vigorous, and relinquishing every object of national honor and national interest. The estimate of those expences for the present year amounted to somewhat more than fifteen millions. The provisions consisted of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds land and malt tax; two millions sinking fund; one million and a half exchequer bills; vote of credit for one million, chargeable on the next aids; about twelve hundred thousand pounds negotiable securities, to be issued after the Michaelmas following; and a new loan of seven millions, to be raised by annuities in the three per cent. consolidated funds, besides a farther annuity of three pounds fifteen shillings per cent. to cease at the expiration of twenty nine years, and a douceur of seven lottery tickets at ten pounds each to every subscriber of a thousand pounds. The interest of the new loan was to be paid by an additional duty of five per cent. on the full produce of the excise and customs, beer and ale, soap, candles, and hides excepted; by a tax of one penny per mile on every post horse; and by an additional duty of five per cent. on cambric. Though the terms of the loan were hard, it admitted of some consolation that the public would be relieved from the most oppressive part of the burthen in twenty nine years; and whatever might be thought of the propriety of an open subscription, it was too hazardous an experiment to make in the midst of a war, when great sums were to be borrowed, and a great deal of unfunded

funded debt was floating in the market. As to the probable continuance of the war, his lordship said there were only three events that struck him, which could render peace desirable to any man who had the interest and glory of his country at heart. These were the return of America to her former state of obedience; the relinquishing her connection with France; or France relaxing in her demands. The two former no man was at liberty to pronounce upon, and the latter there was little likelihood of at present. In such a state of affairs it was therefore fair to presume, that a prospect of peace was at a considerable distance; and though he did not doubt but money could be had in the usual manner, he thought it would not be unworthy that house and the nation at large to turn their thoughts to some mode of raising the supplies within the year, on account as well of the present as future advantages that must result in a variety of instances from the adoption of such a plan. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke exerted all their well-known powers, the one in exposing what he called the futility of lord North's remarks, and the other in descanting on his lordship's insolence. But neither their arguments nor their invectives prevented the committee from agreeing to the proposed resolutions, the report of which was afterwards received by the house, and fully sanctioned. With regard to the hint of raising supplies within the year, as neither his lordship, nor any of his successors in office has since thought proper to make the attempt, the question, whether it may be practicable or expedient, is still open for the exercise of speculative ingenuity.

XXVI. Among various other grounds of resistance to ministry, or of a crimination of their measures, an inquiry into the conduct of the American war was not omitted by their political adversaries. Sir William Howe finding, upon his return to England, that his own conduct was generally condemned, threw himself for protection and exculpation into the arms of a party, who boldly vindicated the most censurable of his proceedings, his supineness, inactivity, and blunders; and brought

the

the matter before parliament, under the double pretence of public utility and of particular justice. On his part, it was alledged, that he had not the cordial confidence and support of ministry;—that the orders they had sent him were never clear, but ambiguous, and such as might be easily explained away in case of any adverse accident arising from their execution;—and that they had concealed from parliament and from the nation the true state of affairs in America, promising success when they knew there was no reason to expect it. In reply to the first of these charges, respecting confidence and support, the vast exertions of the minister for the American department were recapitulated, and the letters of sir William Howe acknowledging them: with regard to the second, it was proved, by the correspondence between the general and the same minister, that every plan proposed by the former was sure to meet with the approbation of the latter; and that stronger testimonies of confidence in a general could not be given by those who employed him, than that he should be left unconstrained by particular instructions, uncontrolled by superior power, and at entire liberty to prosecute the war according to his own ideas: and as to the third charge, it was also shewn, from the same correspondence, that the minister's intelligence concerning the state of America was not materially different from what had been communicated to him by the general, nor his hopes of success more sanguine or more lively than the dispatches of the commander in chief warranted him to entertain. But these answers not being able to silence the interested clamors of a party, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of inquiry, on the twenty ninth of April, and was occasionally employed for two months after in examining papers, and interrogating persons, who were supposed well qualified to give the best information on the subject. Lord Cornwallis, major general Grey, and some other officers, who had served under sir William Howe, happening to be then in England, were eagerly brought to the bar of the house, from their known partiality to their late com-

mander in chief. The testimony of lord Cornwallis would, indeed, have had considerable weight, had he not declined answering any question which related to matters of opinion. His tenderness for sir William Howe's character suggested this expedient: he could not have done more, as he was incapable of sacrificing truth even to friendship. General Grey's evidence, as far as it went, was very favorable to sir William Howe; but it was extremely limited in point of time and place, and served only to soften a few of the least exceptionable parts of the commander in chief's conduct. The longer this business continued, the greater reason ministry had to be convinced, that the whole was a factious intrigue. Resolving, therefore, no longer to permit their opponents to run in the race of examination alone, but to vindicate their own measures, they summoned many gentlemen of undoubted reputation, perfectly acquainted with the conduct of the war, and with the state of America, to give evidence respecting those matters. Of this the movers of the inquiry were apprized, and they soon began to lose courage. Only two witnesses were examined, on what may be called, in the language of judicial trials, the side of administration; major general Robertson, who had served twenty four years in America as quarter-master general, brigadier and major-general; and Mr. Galloway, a gentleman of Pensylvania, of fortune and consequence as well as good abilities, who was bred to the law, and had been a member of congress, but had come over to the royal army in December 1776. Such was the circumstantiality, credibility, and weight of their evidence, that the movers or managers shrank from the inquiry; and on the twenty ninth of June, the admiral being absent, one of his friends made a motion of adjournment, which was agreed to without any debate; and thus the committee expired.

XXVII. The last session had been distinguished by an act of the most liberal indulgence to Roman catholics. The like spirit of sound policy and of truly Christian toleration was now exerted in favor of protestant dissent-

ing

ing ministers and schoolmasters. A bill was brought in and carried through both houses with great facility, the object of which was to relieve those people from some painful and absurd restrictions, which nothing but the inveteracy of prejudice could have so long continued.—It appeared, indeed, to be the laudable and very rational wish of government, at this time, to combine the interests and affections of all orders of men in one common bond of union, and to concentrate, as it were, into one mass all the strength that could be found in the different parts of the empire. The only seeming exception to the general truth of this remark was the discouragement of various motions for taking into consideration the distresses of the Irish, and for affording them some commercial relief. But this backwardness of the ministry arose from the intricacy of the subject, and the want of time, amidst the hurry of other concerns, to prepare such regulations of the trade both of Ireland and England, as might afford effectual relief to the one, without materially injuring the other. When the matter was debated in the upper house, the president of the council went so far as to pledge himself, that a proper plan for accommodating the affairs of Ireland should be digested by the ministers during the recess, and in readiness to lay before parliament at the opening of the ensuing session.

XXVIII. A short time before the prorogation, a royal message was delivered to both houses, informing them, that the Spanish ambassador had presented a manifesto, containing a declaration of hostility on the part of the Catholic king: the pretences, on which the declaration was founded, excited the greater surprise, as many of them had never before come to the knowledge of his majesty, whose conduct towards Spain had been guided by no other motives or principles than those of good faith, honor, and justice: but his majesty trusting to the public spirit of his parliament, and to the blessing of God on the rectitude of his intentions and the equity of his cause, had the fullest confidence that he should be able to withstand and defeat the unjust and dangerous enterprises of

his enemies. After some taunts and reproaches from several members of the opposition, the commons unanimously concurred in assurances of standing by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; but an address, expressing the same sentiments of unshaken fidelity and firm support, was not carried in the lords without long debates, and the proposal of two amendments by the minority; some of whom contended for a change of system as the only means of resisting the powerful combination that threatened the country, while others with less disguise urged the necessity of a total change of men as well as measures.[a] An act for raising volunteer companies to strengthen the militia, and another to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed to serve on board the navy, having been prepared for the royal assent on the third of July, his majesty put an end to the session by returning his most cordial thanks to parliament for their zeal in the support of so just and necessary a war, considering it as a happy omen to the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation.

XXIX. The siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed the hostile rescript from the court of Spain, pointed out the first and immediate object of her designs. The blockade on the land-side commenced in the month of July; and the place was soon after invested as closely by sea as the nature of the gut and the variety of wind and weather would permit. It happened fortunately for Great Britain, that all the capital efforts of the Spanish nation should be directed, at this juncture, to so impracticable and ruinous an enterprise. As to France, she had opened the year with a successful expedition to the coast of Africa. The settlement of Senegal and the British forts on the river Gambia were captured in February by a squadron under the duke de Lauzun. It having then been thought necessary, for the sake of strengthening Senegal, to remove thither the troops and artillery from Goree, this island was soon afterwards seized and garrisoned by sir Edward Hughes, who had force sufficient on

board

board his fleet to recover the other poſſeſſions; but his deſtination was for the Eaſt Indies, where he had much greater objects in view. On the firſt of May, another expedition was undertaken by the French againſt the iſle of Jerſey, with five or ſix thouſand men in flat-bottomed boats, under convoy of three frigates and ſome ſmaller veſſels. They were ſo warmly and vigorouſly received by the ſeventy eighth regiment and the militia of the iſland, that, after a faint and ſpiritleſs effort, they relinquiſhed the enterpriſe. In a few days after, the frigates being ſeen parading on the oppoſite coaſt of Normandy, were purſued into Concalle Bay by a ſmall ſquadron under the command of ſir James Wallace in the Experiment of fifty guns, who taking upon himſelf the charge and riſk of his own ſhip, when the pilots refuſed to conduct her any farther, laid her a-breaſt of a battery that covered the runaways, and ſoon ſilenced it. Armed boats were immediately ſent to board the French ſhips, which had been abandoned by their crews. A cutter of ſixteen guns was ſcuttled as ſhe lay on the ſhore; two of the frigates were burnt; and the third, La Danaé of thirty four guns, with the ſmaller veſſels, was towed off in triumph.

XXX. However completely the inſolence of thoſe invaders was puniſhed, the attempt on Jerſey proved, in its accidental conſequences, extremely mortifying and injurious to Great Britain. It happened that admiral Arbuthnot, with a ſquadron of men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen and tranſports, was then on the outſet of his voyage to New York. As he was proceeding down the channel on the ſecond of May, he fell in with a veſſel ſent expreſs from Jerſey, with the firſt account of the ſuppoſed danger of that iſland. He failed directly with part of the ſquadron for its relief, ordering the reſt, and the ſhips under their protection, to wait his return at Torbay. Upon his arrival off Guernſey, finding that the French had been repulſed, and that his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary, he tacked about to rejoin his convoy. Though he loſt as little time as poſ-

sible in this unfortunate deviation from his original course, it was the cause of much subsequent delay. His fleet, which had anchored at Torbay, was prevented from sailing for near a month after by contrary winds; and it being very reasonably apprehended, that, in the interval of its detention, the French receiving intelligence of its immense value, and of the force that protected it, might be tempted to make a vigorous effort for its capture, in order to defeat such an attempt, ten ships from the channel fleet were detached, under admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot to a certain latitude, whence he might proceed in perfect security. The channel fleet, weakened by so considerable a detachment, was obliged to suspend a plan already formed for blocking up the harbour of Brest; and the French, availing themselves of the opportunity, hurried to sea with an imperfect equipment, and joined the fleet of Spain on the twenty fourth of June. This junction, which the late untoward accidents had rendered it impossible for the British naval force to prevent, was truly alarming. The two fleets amounted to more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels. Soon after their junction, they steered for the British channel, in the mouth of which sir Charles Hardy, who had succeeded Keppel, was cruising with a fleet of thirty eight ships of the line, and something less than its due proportion of frigates. The combined fleets passed him, about the middle of August, without either party having discovered the other, and proceeded on as far as Plymouth, in sight of which place they continued parading for two or three days, until a strong easterly wind set in, and compelled them to retire. The same wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but, on the last day of August, sir Charles Hardy regained his former station, and entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest him. He now endeavoured to entice them into the narrower part of the channel, where their great superiority in number would have been of less avail: they followed him as high as Plymouth,

Plymouth, but would venture no farther. Their crews were ſaid to be ſickly; their ſhips to be in bad condition; and the ſeaſon for equinoctial gales was faſt approaching. Count D'Orvilliers thought it therefore prudent to quit the channel early in September, and ſteer back to Breſt, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the Ardent man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. Though the naval pride of England was certainly very much mortified at ſuch inſults on her own coaſt, and at the retreat of her fleet before the enemy; yet the real diſgrace was on the ſide of France and Spain, who having at a vaſt expence fitted out and brought together greater armaments than had ever, perhaps, been aſſembled on the ſeas, ſaw their efforts expire in empty parade, and their big hopes of ſweeping the ocean terminate in the capture of a ſingle ſhip.

XXXI. The events in the Weſt Indies, and on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, proved more flattering to the views of the houſe of Bourbon, though not unconnected by ſome ſevere ſtrokes of diſappointment and loſs. The paſſiveneſs with which D'Eſtaigne ſuffered himſelf to be continually defied, or rather blocked up in Fort Royal harbour, by a fleet ſuperior only in courage to his own, has been already noticed. Both fleets were reinforced in the beginning of the year; that of admiral Byron by ſeveral ſhips of war from England, under commodore Rowley, and that of count D'Eſtaigne by a ſquadron from France, under the command of M. de Graſſe. But as theſe acceſſions of ſtrength were nearly balanced on both ſides, the count ſtill declined the challenge and endured the inſults of his ſpirited enemy. The departure of admiral Byron on the ſixth of June, to convoy the valuable trade of the Weſt India iſlands a part of their way to England, afforded D'Eſtaigne an opportunity of commencing operations. He ſent a detachment of four hundred and fifty men to the iſland of St. Vincent, which, though garriſoned by ſeven companies of regular troops, ſurrendered without a ſhot. This is aſcribed to the dread enter-

tained of an insurrection of the Caribbs, who had never been perfectly reconciled to the English government, and who were ready to join the French as soon as they landed. D'Estaigne being farther encouraged by another large reinforcement under M. de Motte Piquet, sailed from Fort Royal with twenty-six ships of the line, eight large frigates, and a number of transports having nine thousand troops on board, and steered for Grenada, where he arrived the second of July. Lord Macartney, the governor, though his whole garrison did not exceed one hundred and fifty regulars, with about the same number of militia, yet being strongly posted on an intrenched hill, he repulsed the first assault of between two and three thousand of the French, with the most heroic valour.— But the superiority of numbers was at length decisive; and the British lines were forced, after a hard conflict, which lasted about an hour and a half, and in which three hundred of the assailants are said to have been killed or wounded. Next day, Macartney and his brave companions, rather than give a formal assent to terms prescribed by the insolence of victory, surrendered at discretion. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, receiving intelligence of the capture of St. Vincent's, waited only to have some troops embarked, and directed his course thither; but, on his passage, he heard the still more unwelcome tidings of the attack on Grenada, the relief of which was therefore to be immediately attempted. Though his force consisted of only twenty-one ships of the line, and one frigate, besides transports, he was animated by the warmest hopes of success, being totally ignorant of de la Motte's junction with D'Estaigne. At day-break on the sixth of July, he came in view of the enemy; but the French commander, having already effected his purpose, was little inclined, notwithstanding his present superiority, to risk a close engagement. A warm, but partial and undecisive action ensued, in which three or four of the English ships sustained considerable damage in their masts, sails, and rigging, though their loss in killed and wounded bore a very small proportion to the

dreadful

dreadful slaughter on board the French fleet.* In the result, admiral Byron, who, to his great mortification, had seen the white flag flying on the fortress of St. George, but who must also have felt his inequality to any farther attempts for the recovery of the island, withdrew next day to St. Christopher's, D'Estaigne having in the night returned to Grenada.

XXXII. The balance of conquest was now greatly in favour of the French; and the superiority of their fleet spread a general panic among the inhabitants of the remaining British possessions in that quarter. It is however probable, that the severe loss of men in the late conflict concurred with the approach of the hurricane season to restrain for the present any further attempts of D'Estaigne on the West India islands. After remaining for some time to settle the government of his new acquisition, he indulged his vanity in parading for a day with his whole force in sight of St. Christopher's, and then proceeded to Cape François in Hispaniola. Here he received letters from the French consul at Charlestown, and from the governor of Carolina, acquainting him with general Prevost's having lately threatened that city; fully explaining the critical situation of all the adjoining provinces; and pointing out the advantages which might be expected, should he, during the hurricane months in the West Indies, visit the American coast with his fleet, and co-operate with general Lincoln in the recovery of Georgia. Nothing could be more flattering to D'Estaigne's pride than such a prospect of becoming the *saviour* of the southern colonies; to which, in the ardour of his hopes, he added the design of afterwards attacking, in conjunction with Washington, the British force at New York by sea and land at the same time;—thus, by the reduction of that

* Endeavours were used to conceal the loss of the French, but the lowest estimate states it at 1200 killed, including 21 officers, and nearly 2000 wounded; whereas the loss on board the British fleet amounted only to 183 killed, and 346 wounded, of whom there were 4 officers in each list.

island

iſland and its dependencies, along with the conſequent ruin of the oppoſite fleet and army, to bring the war on that continent to a perfect concluſion. In purſuance of theſe grand projects, he ſet ſail for Georgia, and unexpectedly arriving on the coaſt, captured the Ariel of twenty four guns then cruiſing off Charleſtown bar, and the Experiment of fifty guns, which had been ſent from New York with two ſtoreſhips under her convoy, and which, though already diſmaſted in a ſtorm, made a very gallant, but unavailing reſiſtance. On the ninth of September, D'Eſtaigne anchored off the mouth of the Savannah, and ſent a haughty ſummons to general Prevoſt to ſurrender to the conquerors of Grenada. That officer with great addreſs obtained a truce for twenty four hours, as if to deliberate on the meſſage, but in reality to gain all the time poſſible for putting the place in the beſt poſture of defence, and with the hope alſo of being joined by a conſiderable part of his forces, whom he had left under colonel Maitland on the iſland of Port Royal, after his retreat from Charleſtown. They fortunately arrived before the expiration of the truce, and a ſpirited anſwer was made to D'Eſtaigne's menacing ſummons, informing him that the garriſon were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt man. Nothing could prevent ſome ſailors, who had been drawn from the ſhipping in the river to conſtruct and man the batteries, from expreſſing their uſual ardour by giving three loud cheers, upon firing the ſignal gun for the recommencement of hoſtilities. D'Eſtaigne being joined by general Lincoln, a regular ſiege commenced, which was ſuſtained with great vigour by general Prevoſt, aſſiſted by the maſterly exertions of captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer. The combined armies amounted to more than ten thouſand men: the whole force in Savannah did not exceed the fourth part of that number: nothing but the utmoſt exertions of ſkill, courage, and perſeverance could compenſate ſo great a diſparity. On the morning of the fourth of October, the batteries of the beſiegers having opened with a diſcharge from fifty three pieces of heavy cannon and fourteen mortars,

a requeſt

a requeſt was made by general Prevoſt, that the women and children might be permitted to leave the town, and embark on board veſſels in the river, which ſhould be placed under the protection of the count D'Eſtaigne, and wait the iſſue of the ſiege. This propoſal, dictated by humanity, was rejected with inſult. But, although the cannonade was inceſſantly kept up from the fourth till the ninth, few lives were loſt, and the defences of the town were in no reſpect materially injured. The French commander, grown impatient under the unexpected reſiſtance he had met with, now determined upon a general aſſault in concert with his allies. After a fierce and deſperate conteſt, they were completely routed on every ſide, leaving behind them in killed and wounded ſix hundred and thirty ſeven of the French troops, and two hundred and ſixty four of the Americans*. The iſſue of the aſſault determined that of the ſiege. In about a week after, Lincoln made a precipitate retreat to Carolina; and D'Eſtaigne proceeded with the greater part of his fleet to France, ſending back the reſt to the Weſt Indies; but the latter having been diſperſed in a ſtorm, four of the large frigates were intercepted on their way to Martinique.

XXXIII. The campaign in the other parts of America was ſpent by the Britiſh fleet and army in deſultory operations and partial expeditions, the object of which ſeems to have been to diſtract the attention of the Americans by their multiplicity, and to weaken them by gradually cutting off their reſources. Sir Henry Clinton was indeed unable, from the low ſtate of the army, and the unfortunate delay of the reinforcements under admiral Arbuthnot, to engage in any project of magnitude or importance. The ſame cauſe neceſſarily confined the ſphere of naval enterpriſe, though the fleet had been ſince April, in conſequence of admiral Gambier's recal,

* The whole loſs of the allied armies during the ſiege, in killed, wounded, and by deſertion, was more than 1500 men: that of the garriſon did not exceed in all one hundred and twenty.

under

under the command of ſir George Collier, an officer eminently diſtinguiſhed for his zeal, activity, and ſucceſs. He ſtill diſplayed the ſame ſpirit; but it wanted proper ſtrength for its ſupport, and full ſcope for its exertion. His firſt attempt, in concert with general Matthew, was an expedition to the Cheſapeak, and a deſcent upon Virginia, where they demoliſhed Fort Nelſon, the grand defence of the American dock-yard at Goſport, which they burnt, with all the timber it contained. A ſimilar deſtruction was carried on at the town of Suffolk, at Kempe's Landing, Tanner's Creek, and other places in that quarter. The damage done to the provincials has been eſtimated at half a million. The Americans themſelves, on the approach of the invaders, ſet fire to a ſhip of war of twenty eight guns, belonging to congreſs, and ready for launching; and alſo to two French merchantmen in the river, with their cargoes on board. Beſides theſe, eight other ſhips of war, upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral merchantmen, were burnt by the Britiſh troops; and, excluſively of all other loſſes, the number of veſſels alone which were taken or deſtroyed, during this ſhort expedition begun and ended in the month of May, amounted to one hundred and thirty ſeven. Immediately on the return of the troops and ſquadron from Virginia, they were joined by another detachment from the army under general Vaughan, who had already embarked on board of ſome tranſports at New York; and then proceeding up the North River, accompanied by ſir Henry Clinton, they carried, by great exertions of gallantry, the two important poſts of Stoney Point and Verplanks, which the Americans had diligently fortified to preſerve the communication between the eaſtern and weſtern colonies. Another expedition under ſir George Collier, governor Tryon commanding the land forces, was projected nearly at the ſame time againſt Newhaven in Connecticut, where they took or deſtroyed the artillery, ammunition, and public ſtores, with all the veſſels in the harbour; but ſpared the town itſelf, with a degree of lenity which the conduct of the inhabitants ſcarcely de-

ſerved;

ferved; for the victorious troops, even after they had poffeffion of the place, were treacheroufly fired at from the windows, and feveral of the centinels, though placed at private houfes to prevent plunder, were wounded upon their pofts. From Newhaven the fleet proceeded to Fairfield; and as the forbearance at the former town had produced no good effect, the latter was laid in afhes, to give an example of feverity. Norwalk and Greenfield, at each of which places the troops were fucceffively landed, fhared the fame fate. A defcent at New London was alfo intended; but that grand rendezvous for privateers being likely to make an obftinate refiftance, the fleet fell back to Long Ifland for a farther fupply of ammunition and a re-inforcement of troops, before they made the attempt. But while fir George Collier was conferring with the commander in chief on the fubject, a fudden blow was ftruck by the American general Wayne, which called off their attention to a different quarter. This was the furprife of the fort at Stoney Point, which was taken by affault in the night of the fifteenth of July. The tranfports and troops were immediately recalled from the Sound; and a detachment under brigadier general Stirling was fent up the North River, fir Henry Clinton following with a greater force, in expectation that Wafhington might be tempted to quit his faftneffes, and rifk an engagement for the poffeffion of the fort. This not being the American commander's intention, he gave orders for evacuating the fort, which was done after as many of the works had been deftroyed as the time would permit. They were foon repaired by the Britifh troops, and a larger garrifon than before was affigned for its defence. The very night that brigadier Stirling recovered Stoney Point, a detachment of the Americans made a fudden attack on Paulus Hook, a ftrong poft nearly oppofite to New York on the Jerfey fide; but though they carried a blockhoufe and two redoubts in the firft moments of furprife, a well-directed fire from another redoubt foon compelled them to retreat in the utmoft hurry and confufion. Almoft at the heel of thefe tranfactions,

a far more important enterprise was undertaken by sir George Collier, for the relief of a fortress lately constructed at the mouth of the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New England, and garrisoned by a detachment of the seventy fourth and eighty second regiments from Nova Scotia. This post had been for some time closely invested by an armament of considerable force from Boston, which was attacked lying in the river, and almost entirely destroyed by sir George Collier, who took two frigates of twenty and eighteen guns, and some provision vessels: the rest, including a new frigate of thirty two guns, five others from twenty four to twenty guns, one of eighteen, one of sixteen, seven brigs from sixteen to twelve guns, and twenty four sail of transports were all blown up; the extinction of the rebel marine thus affording a brilliant close to the services performed by sir George Collier during the short period in which he had the command of the British fleet. On his return to New York, he found himself superseded by the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot with the long expected re-inforcements from England. Although it was now late, the season for action was not entirely over; but D'Estaigne's appearance just at that juncture on the coast of Georgia, and the report of his designs against New York, made sir Henry Clinton give up all thoughts of offensive operations during the remainder of the campaign, and concenter his force, that he might be prepared to meet the shock, which he was to expect from a combined attack of the French by sea and the Americans by land. Such also were his reasons for withdrawing the garrison from Rhode Island; and in this respect alone, by obliging sir Henry to change his system, and to act upon the defensive, D'Estagne's visit, otherwise so disastrous, may be said to have been serviceable to the American cause.

XXXIV. In the interior country, the war of devastation was still carried on between the provincials and Indians. Against the latter an expedition of more than ordinary magnitude was planned by congress, and the conduct of it was given to general Sullivan at the head of an army

army of five thouſand men, with a ſuitable train of artillery. The Indians marched boldly towards the frontiers of their country to meet the invaders; but, after one very obſtinate and bloody conflict on the twenty ninth of Auguſt, being convinced of their inability to reſiſt ſuch a force, they abandoned their ſettlements to the waſte and havoc that enſued; and the barbarous ſavage had the mortification to find that the civilized inhabitant of the ſea coaſt could outdo him in deliberate acts of miſchief. Eighteen of their towns were laid in aſhes, and more than one hundred and fifty [illegible] were deſtroyed: their gardens were laid waſte: even their fruit-trees were cut down; and nothing was ſuffered to remain that could be ſuppoſed to afford them any ſuſtenance. Whilſt this terrible chaſtiſement was inflicted on the Indians northward of Penſylvania and New York, ſimilar expeditions were ſet on foot in the ſouthern colonies, and were conducted upon the ſame principles of abſolute extermination.

XXXV. As Spain had acted with ſo much treachery in Europe, keeping up the ſhew of friendſhip till all her preparations for war were fully completed, it was not a matter of ſurpriſe to ſee her commence hoſtilities in remote parts of the globe, with all the advantages of early information and previous deſign. About the middle of Auguſt, Don Galvez, the Spaniſh governor of Louiſiana, having collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans, ſet out upon an expedition againſt the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi; and as they had no cover but a newly conſtructed fort, or more properly a field redoubt, defended by five hundred men, they could not long reſiſt the efforts of a well provided army of four times that number. Don Galvez now extended his views to the conqueſt of all Weſt Florida; but thinking his own force inadequate to ſuch an enterpriſe, he concerted a plan of operation with the governor of the Havannah, in purſuance of which he was to be aſſiſted by a conſiderable embarkation from that place early in the enſuing year.

XXXVI. Nearly at the ſame time that Don Galvez was advancing to the weſtern extremities of Florida, the Spaniſh governor of Honduras made an unexpected attack upon the Britiſh logwood cutters; took many of them priſoners; and expelled the reſt from their principal ſettlement at St George's Key. Captain Dalrymple, with a detachment of the royal Iriſh from Jamaica, and ſome Indians and volunteers collected on the Moſquito ſhore, being on their paſſage to Honduras for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the bay-men, fell in with a ſmall ſquadron of frigates under the command of commodore Luttrel, who had been cruiſing to intercept two Spaniſh regiſter ſhips. The commodore informed captain Dalrymple, that the Spaniards were already diſpoſſeſſed of St. George's Key; and that the regiſter ſhips, having taken ſhelter in the harbour of Omoa, were ſo ſtrongly protected by the fortifications on ſhore, as to bid defiance to any effort by ſea. Under ſuch circumſtances, the two commanders agreed to unite their forces, and to make an attack on Omoa both by ſea and land. Never was any enterpriſe conducted with greater ſpirit and judgment, or crowned with more brilliant ſucceſs. Thoſe walls, which had coſt the Spaniards twenty years labour, and upon which neither the fire of the frigates, nor ſome batteries erected on the adjoining heights could make any impreſſion, were ſcaled by the intrepid aſſailants; and the keys of the fort were ſurrendered to captain Dalrymple, without any farther reſiſtance. The priſoners amounted to three hundred and fifty five, rank and file, beſides officers and inhabitants; and it was agreed that they ſhould be exchanged for an equal number of Britiſh ſubjects taken in the bay of Honduras. The value of the regiſter ſhips and other prizes of leſs note in the harbour was eſtimated at three millions of dollars. No part of this loſs was more ſeverely felt by the Spaniards than that of two hundred and fifty quintals of quick ſilver, a commodity ſo eſſential to the purification of their gold and ſilver ores, that they would have given almoſt any price for it: but the captors preferring the public good

good to their own private emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article, which, though of no great value to themſelves, was of ſuch immenſe conſequence to the enemy. Upon the ſame principle, they refuſed to ranſom the fort, (for which high offers were likewiſe made) and left a garriſon for its defence; although their views to the ſervice of their country were fruſtrated in this reſpect by its ſubſequent evacuation, ariſing more from the unhealthineſs of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery. The conduct of all the officers and men in every part of this ſervice was highly laudable and exemplary; but the following inſtance of magnanimity, in the moment of the aſſault, deſerves a peculiar and diſtinctive tribute of applauſe. A common ſailor, who ſcrambled ſingly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance, on all ſides, of the enemy, armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouſed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the gallant tar, who diſdaining an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquiſh ſo happy an opportunity of diſplaying his courage in ſingle combat, preſented one of the cutlaſſes to him, ſaying, "I ſcorn any advantage—you are now upon a footing with me"— The aſtoniſhment of the officer at ſuch an act of generoſity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing leſs, from the uncouth and hoſtile appearance of his foe, than that of being inſtantly cut to pieces, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the ſtory excited in his countrymen.

XXXVII. The ſucceſs at Omoa, and ſome other of the moſt ſignal advantages of the campaign abroad, were not known in England at the meeting of parliament on the twenty fifth of November. But the diſappointment of the French and Spaniſh confederacy in all their mighty ſchemes of invaſion was a juſt ſubject of triumph in the ſpeech from the throne; and though they ſtill threatened

Great Britain with armaments and preparations, yet his majeſty, knowing the character of his brave people, was perſuaded that the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, had no other effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national ſpirit which had ſo often checked and defeated the projects of ambition and injuſtice: the ſtate of Ireland was recommended to the conſideration of parliament: the good conduct of the militia was acknowledged; and his majeſty returned his cordial thanks to all ranks of loyal ſubjects who had ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, aſſuring them that he was firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel the enemy to liſten to equitable terms of peace. Though addreſſes in a becoming ſtrain of the moſt hearty concurrence were carried in both houſes by a majority of two to one; yet the ſpeeches of the oppoſition were the moſt violent and outrageous that had ever been uttered in any deliberative aſſembly. They ſeemed to dwell with malignant delight on "the difficulties, the dangers, and diſgrace of their country," affecting that "nothing could prevent the conſummation of public ruin, but new counſels, and new counſellors,—a real change, not a mere palliation." Not content with exhauſting the powers of language in reproaches on the ſervants of the crown, they attacked the throne itſelf, and, in menaces hardly diſtinguiſhable from treaſon, ſaid, that "when evils reached to a certain height, miniſters were forgotten, and the prince alone was puniſhed." The extraordinary intemperance of theſe invectives could only be accounted for as ariſing from the mortification felt by the pretended patriots at ſome changes which had juſt taken place in ſeveral of the great offices of ſtate, without the extenſion of his majeſty's favour to any of *their* party. Lord Stormont, late ambaſſador at Paris, was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of lord Suffolk, deceaſed: the earl of Weymouth a ſecond time reſigned the ſeals of the ſouthern department, which were transferred to the earl of Hillſborough: lord Gower having, in a fit of diſguſt, quitted

quitted the president's chair, it was filled by lord Bathurst; and the old place of first lord of trade and plantations, which had been absorbed and included in the new office of secretary of state for the colonies, was now separated and bestowed on the earl of Carlisle. The secretaryship at war had, some months before, been given to Mr. Jenkinson, whose talents, fidelity, and zeal, had deservedly procured him a considerable share of the royal confidence.

XXXVIII. The debates of this day were distinguished by two very remarkable defections on both sides. The one was in the upper house, where lord Lyttleton, who for the last seven years had constantly been one of the warmest advocates of administration, under whom he held a very lucrative sinecure office, now strove to surpass the bitterest railers at their conduct in the severity of his censures. He died soon after; and a series of the most degrading vices in private life was crowned by this last act of public baseness and political apostacy. The other defection was from the side of the minority to the ministerial standard. Mr. Adam, a member of the house of commons, after candidly stating his reasons for a change of sentiment on the subject of national affairs, said, " he could not concur in the pretended necessity of *new counsels* or *new counsellors*, as, among those gentlemen who stood candidates for office, he could not single out one, by whom the state was likely to be better served than by its present rulers." Mr. Fox's reply, as represented in the news-papers, conveying a personal reflection on Mr. Adam, this gentleman thought it necessary to require from the former a public disavowal of it through the same vehicles of intelligence in which it had appeared. Such a concession being deemed by Mr. Fox inconsistent with his ideas of propriety, a duel between the parties took place in Hyde Park, in which Mr. Fox was slightly wounded.

XXXIX. The affairs of Ireland, the consideration of which had been recommended from the throne, took the lead in the business of the present session. Local preju-

dices and mercantile jealousies had too long obstructed the liberal intentions of the English government towards that country. Her trade was not only fettered by old and absurd shackles, but, in consequence of the war, an embargo was continued on her great staple commodities of beef and butter, with a view of distressing the enemy for want of the usual supplies of Irish provisions. It is no wonder that the people, thus sinking under the pressure of accumulated grievances, and driven to despair by the failure of different attempts to procure them relief, had meetings in the principal parts of that kingdom, where resolutions were almost universally passed against the use of British manufactures. But their military associations, though at first entered into for the purposes of defence against the predatory attacks or invasion of foreign enemies, seemed now to wear a still more questionable aspect. The clamour for a redress of domestic evils grew louder and more peremptory, when joined in by a self-raised and self supported army of fifty thousand volunteers. Even the parliament of Ireland, at its meeting in October, soon shewed that they had received a portion of the general spirit of the nation, and declared, in their addresses to the throne, that nothing less than a free trade could save the country from impending ruin. This representation had the desired effect; and lord North brought forward with all possible dispatch his propositions respecting Ireland, which were in substance nearly the same as those originally moved by lord Nugent in the session of 1778, but accompanied with several additional concessions, particularly the very important one, that Ireland should be allowed the free exportation of her woollens. The resolutions passed unanimously; and were received in Ireland with the warmest testimonies of joy and gratitude.

1780. XL. The army and navy estimates, which had been submitted to parliament before the Christmas recess, while they served to shew the vigour of the preparations for the ensuing campaign, could scarcely fail of exciting at the same time some alarm at the magnitude

of

of the contest, and the prodigious expence with which it was attended. The aggregate of the forces deemed necessary for the prosecution of the war fell little short of two hundred and twenty thousand men; and in order to provide for their maintenance and for the other exigencies of the state, it was evident that twelve millions must be raised by loan, in addition to the permanent means of supply. So considerable an increase of the national debt enabled the opposition to give the most deceptive colouring to the charges they had often thrown out against ministry of "prodigality,—corruption,—a shameful waste of the public money,"—and, on a sudden, OECONOMY became the prevailing and popular cry throughout the kingdom. Early in the new year, public meetings were convened in some of the principal counties, and petitions to parliament were drawn up, agreed to, and presented, all of them praying for a correction of abuses in the public expenditure, and a few, where faction bore an uncontrolled sway, extending to an infinite variety of innovations, under the name of REFORM. The appointment of a select committee to examine the public accounts was now moved for by colonel Barré in the lower, and the earl of Shelburne in the upper house; and lord North, to shew that he was by no means averse to well-regulated inquiry, brought in a bill for instituting a commission of accounts, consisting of independent gentlemen, not members of either house, so as to remove every shadow of suspicion, and to increase the facility and dispatch with which they might proceed, from being able to sit at all times, without being engaged and harassed by the intervention of parliamentary duty. The candor, rectitude, and wisdom of this measure did not prevent its being opposed under several frivolous pretexts, but chiefly that of its being an abdication of the rights and privileges of the commons. It was, however, passed into a law by a great majority; and the successive reports of the commissioners, appointed in virtue of this act, form, by their accuracy, ability, and impartiality, the best reply to the various objections urged against it. Some praise is also due

due to Mr. Burke's famous plan of œconomical reform, which was brought forward about the same time, though not with the same success. His professed objects were the reduction of the national expenditure and the diminution of the influence of the crown, to effect which purposes he moved for leave to bring in certain bills for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments, for the sale of forest and other crown lands, for more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall. The powers of Mr. Burke's genius and fancy were never, perhaps, more fully displayed than in the embellishment of so unpromising a subject: the necessary minuteness of detail, the multiplicity of local circumstances and personal considerations, on which the whole plan was founded, were heightened and set off with all the charms of eloquence, all the beauties of descriptive poetry: but the bills, after a great number of violent conflicts, in the course of which the minister was more than once left in a minority, were finally lost.

XLI. It was in one of these debates, which had for its object the abolition of the board of trade, that an extraordinary dispute took place between sir Fletcher Norton and lord North. Mr. Fox having called upon the speaker for his opinion, as a member and lawyer, on the competency of parliament to control the civil list expenditure, the latter, under a pretence of stating several causes which rendered him averse to giving any opinion in that house, except in his official capacity, took occasion to declare, "that the noble lord at the head of affairs and he were not friends: he was not a friend to the noble lord; and he had repeated proofs that the noble lord was no friend of his:—but if the noble lord did not do him justice, he would at a proper time state the particulars to the house." The minister equally pleaded ignorance and innocence, accompanied with no small degree of surprise at the charge. Sir Fletcher then stated, "that he had been induced to quit the bar, and to accept of his present situation, by a

positive

positive engagement on the part of the duke of Grafton, at that time minister, that, whenever an opportunity offered, he should be provided for in the line of his profession, as a [illegible] such, and by way of equivalent for the advantages he had given up, he now held the sinecure office of lord chief justice in Eyre. But, notwithstanding this compact, he had lately discovered, that a negociation was in train between the noble minister then present, and the chief judge of one of the courts, [De Grey] by which the latter was to retire on a pension, for the purpose of appointing another person, a law officer then likewise present, [Mr. Wedderburne, the attorney general] to supply his place, and to the utter subversion of his own claim." Lord North said, "he did not question the account given by the right honorable gentleman, of the considerations on which he had accepted of the chair in that house; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transaction at the time, nor looked upon himself as responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. With respect to the speaker's assertion of a negociation, such as he had described, being on foot, and of money being proposed to be given and received, he must totally dissent from it as to the point of fact*." This was farther confirmed by Mr Wedderburne, who disclaimed the imputation with great spirit; and, in a happy strain of ironical satire, exposed the speaker's complaint and conduct to the utmost derision. The house must also have been struck with the contrast between the passionate coarseness of sir Fletcher's language, and lord North's perfect command of temper

* The fact was, that sir William De Grey, then lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, had intimated his intention to resign; and Mr. Wedderburne was fixed upon for his successor. This appointment took place soon after, when Mr. Wedderburne was also created a baron of Great Britain, under the title of lord Loughborough, Mr. Wallace, upon that occasion, rose to the office of attorney general, and Mr. Mansfield was appointed solicitor general.

and

and good manners. Another of those personal bickerings took place a few days after, in which his lordship's well-timed pleasantry was not less remarkable than his politeness. Mr. Fullarton, late secretary to the embassy at Paris, had, upon his return to England, offered to raise a regiment, the command of which was certainly no more than a just return for his laudable exertions in times of public difficulty. His appointment, however, to military rank had been very contemptuously mentioned in a late debate by the earl of Shelburne, who said, "that a *clerk* ought not to be trusted with a regiment; and that he and his regiment would be as ready to draw their swords against the liberties of their country as against its foes." Such illiberal aspersions were strongly resented by Mr. Fullarton, who thought proper to introduce the subject in the house of commons, before he entered upon measures of a more summary nature for obtaining satisfaction. On being called to order by Mr. Fox, a warm altercation arose; but lord North found means to temper its violence by some strokes of wit and facetiousness. He admitted, that it was certainly wrong, in either house, to mention the name of any member of the other: yet there were cases that would justify it, and the present might be one of them. After complimenting Mr. Fullarton on the spirit with which he had felt and resented the injury, his lordship advised him to treat all personal attacks with indifference. "Noble lords in another place," he said, "were very apt to be personal, and they very often made free with himself. Among other names, one of them had lately called him *a thing*. The appellation, however contemptuously meant, was certainly truly applied; for he undoubtedly was *a thing*. But the noble lord had put an addition to it: he said he was *a thing called a minister*. A moment's consideration convinced him that this ought not to be regarded as an affront, because a moment's consideration reminded him, that the noble lord, who had dubbed him *a thing called a minister*, had not the smallest objection to become that very thing himself." These remarks put the house in good humour, but did not prevent
vent

vent Mr. Fullarton from seeking other means of redress. Lord Shelburne gave him a meeting in Hyde Park, and being wounded, though not dangerously, by Mr. Fullarton's first fire, fired his own remaining pistol in the air; upon which the matter was amicably terminated.

XLI. It has been already hinted, that a loan of twelve millions was found necessary among other ways and means for the supplies of the current year, the whole of which amounted to twenty-one millions. The sum borrowed was to be funded in the four per cents, and the interest to be raised chiefly by an increase of some old and productive taxes, which would leave nothing to speculation. Among these, malt was the principal object; but the tax was only to affect private breweries, an adequate allowance being made to the public brewer, "so that while the ends of finances," to use lord North's words, "were fully answered, the pot of porter and tankard of beer should not meet the lip of the consumer with any additional charge on either." The opposition made to the tax in the committee was equally unsupported by argument and numbers, there being only nine, upon a division, against one hundred and thirty five; and the collective ingenuity of those nine not having been able to discover any other ground of objection than that "the county petitions ought to be first complied with." Frivolous as this appeared, it was afterwards renewed on bringing up the report, and Mr. Hartley and some others asserted, "that by agreeing to the report previous to remedying the grievances of the nation, the matter would be reduced to this alternative,—if the parliament got the better of the people, this would become an absolute monarchy: if the people got the better of the parliament, the king would be dethroned."—If numberless instances had not shewn how the understanding may be warped by the heat of political controversy, it would appear almost incredible that even thirty-seven members out of a hundred and eighty-two then present could countenance such an absurd and extravagant opinion.

XLII. On the sixth of April, the house having resolved

solved itself into a committee for taking the petitions into consideration, a long and warm debate ensued, in the course of which several resolutions were moved, and carried, in spite of lord North's [illegible] resistance. By the first it was declared, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." When the question was put, the ayes were 233, the noes 215. In vain did the minister beg, after this was decided, that the committee would not proceed any further that night, it being then twelve o'clock: the victorious party thought no hour too late for pushing their success. A second resolution was therefore moved, and agreed to without a division, "that it was competent to that house to examine into, and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it should seem expedient to the house to do so." This was followed by a third proposition, stating it as the opinion of the committee, "that it was the duty of that house to provide, as far as might be, an effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the house from the different counties, cities, and towns in the kingdom;" which being also carried in the affirmative without an apparent dissent, the new majority, as if incapable of prescribing any bounds to their career, brought forward, as soon as the house was resumed, a fourth motion, "that the former resolutions should be immediately reported." Lord North's remarks on so unusual, violent, and arbitrary a proceeding had little effect: the torrent was too strong at that time to be resisted. It continued for some days after to sweep every thing before it, and the committee came to several decisions for securing, as they professed, the purity of parliament, and excluding certain officers of the crown from a seat in that house. At length the rage of innovation, or delirium of virtue, as it was emphatically called, began to abate; and, on the twenty-fourth of April, an adjourned motion for an address, "that his majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the parliament, or prorogue the present

present session until the objects of the petitions were answered," was rejected by a majority of 254 to 203. A more decisive trial of strength took place between the two parties on [illegible]th of May, when the chairman was voted out of the chair, which amounted to a dissolution of the committee, by a majority of 177 to 134.

XLIV. While these matters were agitated with great warmth both in and out of parliament, an affair totally separate was carried on with very little notice for some time, till it acquired by degrees such an accumulation of force and fury, as almost to overwhelm the whole legislature, and to endanger the credit, the government, the very being and constitution of the state. The relief granted to the Roman catholics, in the session of 1778, was at the time very generally approved of throughout England; but in Scotland, the persecuting spirit of bigotry and fanaticism immediately took the alarm, and, on the bare suspicion that a similar indulgence was to be extended to the papists in that part of the kingdom, Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumult: the Popish chapel in the metropolis was destroyed; and the houses of the principal catholics were attacked and plundered. Instead of opposing the frantic rabble with firmness and spirit, the lord provost issued a singular proclamation, ascribing the riots to the "apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of *well-meaning* people," and assuring them, "that no repeal of the penal statutes against papists would take place." Encouraged by this wretched pusillanimity, the fanatics formed themselves into a society, stiled the "Protestant Association," for the avowed purpose of watching over those statutes, which they called "the palladium of the established religion;" and chose for their president lord George Gordon, a young man in the highest degree wild, eccentric, and enthusiastical. This association was gradually extended to England; and much pains were taken, by inflammatory harangues and pamphlets, to prejudice the aminds of the vulgar against the late relaxation of the penal code. It was at length determined to prepare a petition for a re-

peal of the law in favour of papiſts; and this petition is affirmed to have obtained one hundred and twenty thouſand ſignatures, or *marks*, of men of the loweſt orders of ſociety, whoſe exceſs of zeal could be equalled only by the groſſneſs of their ignorance,—a combination of qualities at once ridiculous and terrible. Their preſident, who was then a member of the houſe of commons, having declined to preſent their petition, unleſs he was accompanied by at leaſt twenty thouſand men, a public meeting of the Aſſociation was convened on the ſecond of June, in St. George's Fields, whence it was ſuppoſed that not leſs than fifty thouſand perſons proceeded in regular diviſions, with lord George Gordon at their head, to the houſe of commons, where, in compliance with the uſual forms, he eaſily obtained leave to bring up the petition; but notwithſtanding the violence and inſanity of his efforts, the conſideration of it was poſtponed to the ſixth. Towards evening the multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and groſſly inſulted various members of both houſes, compelling them, as they paſſed, to cry NO POPERY! and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, lord George Gordon frequently addreſſed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their paſſions, and expreſſly ſtating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redreſs till they pulled down the popiſh chapels." After the adjournment of the houſe, the mob, on this ſuggeſtion, immediately proceeded to the demolition of the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambaſſadors. The military were ordered out too late to prevent the miſchief; but they took up about thirteen of the ringleaders, ſome of whom were afterwards committed to Newgate. The next day, Saturday, paſſed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters re-aſſembled in vaſt numbers, and deſtroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields. On Monday, they extended their devaſtations to other parts of the town; and ſir George Saville's houſe in Leiceſter Fields was totally demoliſhed, on account of his having been the firſt mover of what they called the Popery bill."

bill." As Tueſday had been fixed upon by the commons for taking the petition into conſideration, the mob again ſurrounded the parliament houſe on that day, and renewed their perſonal inſults and audacity. The houſes, after paſſing ſome reſolutions adapted to the occaſion, and expreſſive of their juſt indignation, immediately adjourned. In the evening, the populace, now grown more daring than ever, attacked the priſon of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, with aſtoniſhing reſolution; and, ſetting the building in flames, liberated more than three hundred felons and debtors reſident within its walls. Fluſhed, as it were, with the ſucceſs of their aſſault on this fortreſs which had been deemed impregnable, they proceeded to lord Mansfield's houſe in Bloomſbury Square, and with Gothic rage conſigned not only the furniture, but the paintings, library, and ineſtimable manuſcripts to the flames. His lordſhip, and his lady, had happily eſcaped through a back door, at their approach. A party of the guards fired once or twice upon the rioters, but without being able to check the progreſs of devaſtation. The doors of the New Priſon, Clerkenwell, were forced open; the houſes of ſeveral magiſtrates and of many private individuals were plundered or deſtroyed; and ſcarcely did the night afford any ceſſation of the riots. But theſe outrages were to be followed next day by ſcenes of ſtill greater horror and calamity. The mob, encouraged on the one hand by the hopes of ſtill proceeding with impunity, and rendered deſperate on the other by the miſchiefs and villanies they had already perpetrated, were reſolved that no quarter of the town ſhould eſcape the irreſiſtible violence of the pick-axe and the fire-brand. Some houſes were marked out for plunder; but others were to be conſigned to the flames. Before the cloſe of the evening, the King's Bench, the Fleet Priſon, the New Compter, the Toll-gates on Black Friars Bridge, Mr. Langdale's great diſtilleries in Holborn, with a prodigious number of private dwellings in different parts of the town, all burning at the ſame time, exhibited tremendous ſpectacles of conflagration, to which London, ſince the great fire of 1666, had ſeen

nothing parallel or similar. The rioters had also made repeated attempts in the course of the day, on the Bank, and Pay-Office; but these being strongly guarded, escaped that destruction which must have involved the whole nation in irreparable distress and ruin. As large detachments of the military had received orders to fire upon the incendiaries, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate, the slaughter was terrible; but in a short time the commotions were effectually suppressed; and, by Thursday noon, order and tranquillity were perfectly restored. Next evening, lord George Gordon was taken into custody, and, after a strict examination before the privy council, committed close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason, which not being fully established at his trial, he was acquitted. An impeachment of the house of commons for high crimes and misdemeanors would have been a more effectual mode of procedure, and would have insured that punishment, which his audacious and inflammatory conduct so justly deserved. A great number of the rioters having been also apprehended, a special commission was issued for trying them, and many suffered death. But neither the sword of public justice nor the more destructive fire of the military proved so fatal to the great body of delinquents, as their own inordinate appetites. Several hundreds fell the victims of inebriation, especially at Langdale's distilleries; while others in search of plunder were suddenly buried in the ruins of demolished houses.

XLV. The members of the house of commons began to assemble early on the eighth of June; but upon the speaker's pointing out to such as were present the impossibility of exercising their legislative functions, while the city of Westminster was under martial law, they adjourned to the nineteenth, as the lords had done two days before. The meeting of both houses, after this compelled recess, was opened by his majesty with a very judicious speech, lamenting the necessity which had obliged him, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to employ the force entrusted to him for the suppression of

those

those acts of felony and treason, which had overborne all civil authority, and threatened the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state;—at the same time renewing his assurances, that he had no other object than to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of the constitution, the rule and measure of his conduct. —Addresses of thanks were deservedly voted in reply to this speech, without a single negative in either house. Next day, it was determined in a committee of the whole house of commons, that no repeal of the act in favor of the Roman catholics should take place, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: but the committee agreed to, and the house afterwards confirmed several resolutions, tending to set the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed, yet well-meaning part of the petitioners against that act. A bill was also carried through the lower house to restrain papists from taking upon them the education of protestant children; but many of the lords thinking it derogatory from their dignity and independence to have any bill forced upon them by popular outrage, or passed through a weak compliance with absurd prejudices, the bill was got rid of by a motion made and carried, on the fourth of July, to put off the third reading till that day week. This amounted to a total rejection, as parliament was prorogued on the eighth.

XLVI. As some good is often observed to arise out of the greatest evils, so government derived at this time no small increase of power and stability from those very riots, which aimed at nothing less than its total subversion. The nation could not have received a more seasonable warning of the dreadful excesses, into which popular associations for any reform or pretended redress of grievances are too apt to lead; and the frenzy of the fanatics served to shew how easily the passions of ignorant men may be inflamed by the most frivolous and imaginary causes of complaint. The numberless discontents, which the artifices of faction had been very successful in exciting,

appeared now to be equally unfounded; and the strongest proof of this was, that the very year, in which they broke out with so much violence, had been hitherto marked with unusual plenty at home, and the most brilliant successes abroad. The chief articles of subsistence had fallen to nearly half the price which they bore at the beginning of the war *; and the brave Rodney had auspiciously opened the year with new accessions of glory to the naval renown of England. This officer, having under his command a re-inforcement of ships for the West Indies, and a part of the channel fleet with provisions and stores for the garrison of Gibraltar, had only been a few days at sea, when, on the eighth of January, he fell in with a convoy of sixteen merchantmen bound to Cadiz, under the protection of a sixty four gun ship, four frigates, and two smaller vessels, to which he immediately gave chace; and in a few hours, the whole were taken. But this was only the prelude to greater success. About a week after, he descried, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, which he directly bore down upon, taking the lee-gage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports. The action began, in the midst of a very rough gale, at four in the afternoon; and, in little more than half an hour, one of the Spanish ships blew up, and all on board perished. The engagement continued till two in the morning, when the Phœnix of eighty guns, admiral Langara's own ship, and three of seventy guns each, were taken and secured: two more of seventy guns had also struck; but, through the violence of the tempest, were

* Wheat, which sold for fifteen pounds per load in the year 1775, now fell to seven pound, ten shillings: barley, oats, and peas were reduced in nearly the same proportion: hay was still more abundant, having fallen from four pound, ten shillings to forty shillings per load; and as this article has so material an influence on the prices of cattle, any details of the cheapness of different sorts of meat at such a juncture are unnecessary.

afterwards

afterwards driven on shore and lost. The rest of the squadron escaped in a shattered condition. Sir George Rodney's force was certainly much superior; yet his consummate skill and courage were not the less eminently displayed in the mode of conducting the attack, which the violence of the storm, the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of a lee-shore rendered extremely dangerous. As soon as sir George saw the supplies safely landed at Gibraltar, he proceeded to the West Indies, sending home his prizes with the detachment of the channel fleet under admiral Darby, who, on his passage, captured the Prothée, a French ship of sixty four guns, and three vessels laden with military stores, being part of a convoy bound to the Mauritius in the East Indies.

XLVII. Though the re-inforcement under admiral Rodney, after his arrival at St. Lucia on the twenty seventh of March, still left the British fleet somewhat inferior in number to that of the French at Martinique, yet he soon returned a late menacing visit from the count De Guichen, and remained for two days off Fort Royal harbour, endeavouring, but in vain, to provoke the enemy to an engagement. He then left a squadron of swift-sailing vessels to watch their motions, and took back the rest of his fleet to St. Lucia. Things hung in this state for nearly a fortnight, when intelligence was brought that the French fleet, consisting of twenty three sail of the line and a number of frigates, had put to sea in the night of the fifteenth of April. Rodney, with three ships less, used such exertions in pursuit of the enemy, as to come up with them in the morning of the seventeenth. At noon he made the signal for a general and close engagement, setting himself a noble example to all his officers, by beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down upon the French admiral, whom, though assisted by two seconds, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury, till the enemy bore away, whereby their line of battle was entirely broken in the center. The great distance of the British van and rear, with the crippled state of some of Rodney's division, and particu-

larly of his own ship, after having singly sustained so unequal a conflict, rendered it impossible to make the victory complete by an immediate chace. His subsequent exertions to bring the enemy to an action were constantly eluded by the count de Guichen; who first took shelter at Guadaloupe, and afterwards regained his former place of security at Fort Royal, though not without receiving some severe blows in a few partial rencounters. The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and transports with above ten thousand troops on board, seemed to give the count an invincible superiority, and to portend ruin to the British possessions, as well as to the British navy, in those seas. The storm blew over without a single explosion. A pestilential distemper, which broke out among the Spanish troops, at first occasioned some delay; and a difference of opinion between the commanders of the allied fleets prevented their co-operating in any enterprise. After remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, they all put to sea in the night of the fifth of July, and directed their course to St. Domingo. Here they separated, Don Solano proceeding with the Spanish fleet to the Havannah, and the count de Guichen putting in to Cape Francois, where he remained till the homeward bound trade from the French islands had assembled, when, taking it under his protection, he sailed directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, thinking that the count only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, sailed thither himself with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to be in readiness to thwart the designs of his old enemy in every quarter. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, in September, that this effort of his zeal for the public service might have been dispensed with, yet, in the end, he had no cause to regret the trouble which he had taken, as it proved the means of saving the squadron under his immediate command from one of the most dreadful hurricanes that had ever swept the seas or desolated the islands in the West Indies.

XLVIII.

XLVIII. But though the West Indies were buried for some time in the glooms of unparalleled calamity, the splendid career of the British forces on the continent and coast of America, during the whole of this campaign, was clouded with very few instances of disappointment or misfortune. Sir Henry Clinton, who had sailed from New York, just before the close of the preceding year, with the greater part of the army, under convoy of a squadron commanded by admiral Arbuthnot, landed on John's Island, within thirty miles of Charlestown, about the middle of February. But the natural and artificial obstructions to the farther progress of the forces both by sea and land were so great, that the troops did not reach Charlestown Neck till the twenty ninth of March. The frigates and some of the larger ships, which were lightened of their guns, crossed the bar on the twentieth of March, and on the ninth of April effected their passage into the harbour, under a severe and impetuous fire from the batteries on Sullivan's Island. A joint summons was now sent to general Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, to surrender; but he replied, that duty and inclination prompted him to defend it to the last extremity. He did not long preserve this tone of firmness. As soon as the second parallel of the besiegers was completed, he offered to capitulate, but on certain conditions which were deemed inadmissible. In a few days, the third parallel being advanced within one hundred and fifty yards of his lines, and seeing preparations made for a general assault, he consented to deliver up the city on the terms originally proposed by the British commanders. Between six and seven thousand men, consisting of regular troops, militia, and sailors, became prisoners of war, and were allowed some of its honours; but in marching out to deposit their arms, the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. Near four hundred pieces of ordinance, with a considerable quantity of stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Three stout rebel frigates, one French frigate, a polacre of sixteen guns, and some smaller vessels were also taken. The naval capture would

have

have been more confiderable, had not the Americans, on feeing the bar croffed by the Britifh fquadron, funk a fixty gun fhip, three frigates, a brig, and feveral merchantmen, to obftruct the channel of the river. General Leflie took poffeffion of the town on the twelfth of May; and the commander in chief loft no time to improve fo valuable a conqueft, by immediately fetting on foot feveral expeditions well calculated to extinguifh every idea of refiftance in the interior parts of the province, and by ifsuing hand-bills and various proclamations for the no lefs politic purpofe of conciliating the voluntary fubmiffion of the inhabitants. Thefe meafures feemed to produce the defired effect. The only body of continental troops, that ftill endeavoured to keep up the expiring hopes of the rebels, was unexpectedly attacked and almoft cut to pieces by a detachment of horfe under colonel Tarleton; and the people in every part of the country appeared ready to embrace the offers of pardon and protection held out to them. Not a few actually took up arms and joined the royal ftandard. Sir Henry Clinton now thought it expedient to return to New York, leaving four thoufand men under lord Cornwallis to fecure the acquifitions already made, and to penetrate into North Carolina, as foon as the abatement of the intenfe heat of the feafon and other circumftances fhould concur to favor fuch an enterprife.

XLIX. The departure of the commander in chief for New York was accelerated by intelligence which he had received, that a French armament was expected on that part of the coaft to co-operate with general Wafhington. The event foon confirmed the accuracy of this information. On the tenth of July, about three weeks after fir Henry Clinton's return, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Ifland from France, with a fquadron of feven fail of the line, five frigates, and fix thoufand troops under the command of the count de Rochambeau, who affured the ftates, this was only the vanguard of a much greater force deftined for their aid by the king his mafter. The Britifh fleet at New York being increafed at the very fame juncture by the arrival of fix fail of the

line

line from England, which had followed close on M. de Ternay's track, a scheme was quickly formed by sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot to attack the French and Americans at Rhode Island: but general Washington, by a rapid movement, crossing the North River, and advancing towards New York, obliged them to desist from their purpose.

L. About this time it was confidently hoped by the French and American commanders, that they would be speedily joined by the count de Guichen with a land force and twenty ships of the line from the West Indies; in which case new York was to be assailed in every direction with irresistible fury. But the news of the count's departure for Europe blasted all these fond expectations, and made it necessary for Washington to have a meeting with Rochambeau about half way between their respective camps, in order to concert new measures adapted to their present state of disappointment. While the former was absent from his army upon this service, general Arnold, who then commanded a considerable body of troops at West Point on the North River, but who had lately entered into a secret correspondence with sir Henry Clinton for delivering up to him that important post, requested that a confidential person might be sent to him, finally to adjust the business and carry it into effect without delay. Major André, one of sir Henry Clinton's aid-de-camps, was charged with this commission; but, by an unfortunate train of incidents, he fell into the hands of the enemy, on his return from an interview with Arnold, and was executed as a spy. Arnold, with great difficulty, made his escape to New York.

LI. While the war may be said to have languished in the central colonies from the near equipoise of strength, or the secure positions of the contending parties, the state of affairs in the south afforded greater scope for military enterprise. The force, which had been left under lord Cornwallis in Carolina, though disposed with the greatest judgment, both for the defence of that province, and for seizing a favorable opportunity of making new conquests,

seemed likely to be overwhelmed by the increasing armies of the Americans on the frontiers, whose confidence of success was not more owing to the vast superiority of their numbers, than to their having Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, at their head. But that general had now a Cornwallis and a Rawdon to contend with; and the laurels gained at Saratoga were doomed to fade in the neighbourhood of Camden. From this post, the British army, consisting of about two thousand effective men, set off in the night of the fifteenth of August, with the hopes of surprising the Americans in their camp, which was twelve miles distant. It is not a little singular that Gates, whose force was six thousand strong, had formed at the very same time a similar scheme of attacking lord Cornwallis by surprise, and was then on his march for that purpose. Thus moving in opposite directions, the advanced guards of both armies met and fired upon each other at two o'clock in the morning. A sort of truce soon took place, till day light appeared, when lord Rawdon and colonel Webster charged the enemy with such vigour, promptitude, and judgment, that the militia fled at the first onset. The reserve, consisting of about two thousand five hundred regulars, stood their ground very firmly for near an hour; but were at length thrown into irrecoverable confusion, and forced to give way in all quarters, abandoning their cannon, camp-equipage, and stores. Between eight and nine hundred of the Americans were killed in the action, and in the pursuit, which was continued for more than twenty miles from the field of battle: one thousand were made prisoners; and in this number were baron de Kalbe, the second in command, and general Rutherford, the former of whom died soon after of his wounds. Gregory, another of the American generals, was among the slain; but Gates, who had retired with the militia to endeavour to rally them, finding all his efforts vain, gave up every thing as lost, and seemed to think himself insecure, till he got to the distance of one hundred and eighty miles from the scene of his misfortune

and disgrace. Only sixty nine of the British troops were killed in this engagement; and that nothing might be wanting to complete the destruction of all the provincial force to the southward, colonel Tarleton, two days after, came up with a detached corps under general Sumpter near the Catawba Fords, and poured upon them so unexpectedly, that the attack was little more than a slaughter and rout.

LII. The news of a victory at once so brilliant, and apparently so decisive of the fate of the southern colonies, were not received with corresponding emotions of joy in England. The spirits of the people had lately been sunk in the contemplation of some of the severest blows which the British commerce had ever sustained. Admiral Geary, who, on the death of sir Charles Hardy in May, had been appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, having in the beginning of July taken twelve merchantmen from Port-au prince, proceeded soon after to the southward, in the hope of falling in with a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships, of which he had received some intelligence. While he was cruising with this view off Cape Finisterre, a rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies, attended by the Ramillies and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted on the ninth of August by the combined fleets under Don Lewis de Cordova. The Ramillies, with the frigates, and a few merchantmen, escaped. All the rest, amounting to more than fifty sail, were taken and carried into Cadiz. Besides the immense value of the merchandise, a number of the ships were loaded with naval and military stores for the settlements in their respective places of destination. About the same time, an account was received of the capture of fourteen ships of the outward-bound Quebec fleet by some American privateers off the banks of Newfoundland; and this concurrence of losses, which, in their nearer or more remote consequences, affected all orders of people, spread a general gloom throughout the nation.

LIII. An alliance, which had been entered into by the

northern powers under the name of "the Armed Neutrality," and some violent disputes with Holland, which seemed advancing to a direct rupture, tended in no small degree to increase the public despondence at this alarming period. The Dutch, from the beginning of the disturbances in America, had maintained a correspondence with the people of that country, and not only supplied them with merchandise, but with warlike stores, to give vigour to their rebellion. After the interference of France and Spain in the quarrel, the selfish and treacherous conduct of the Dutch became still more evident. Their ports were open to the rebellious subjects, as well as to the inveterate enemies of Great Britain; and the vast profits of a contraband trade made them regardless of every consideration of honour and friendship. Various remonstrances were made on this head by the British ambassador at the Hague, but without effect. One of the subjects of complaint deserves particular notice. An encounter took place in the month of September 1779 between captain Pearson of the Serapis man of war, accompanied by the Scarborough frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and Paul Jones, the commander of an American squadron, which had for some time before infested the British seas. After a very fierce and bloody action, during which the convoy had full time to escape, the Serapis and Scarborough were taken and carried to the Texel. On this a very strong memorial was presented to the States General by sir Joseph Yorke, claiming those ships and their crews, as having been captured by "a rebel subject and a criminal of the state."* Their High Mightinesses replied, "that they were not authorized to pass judgment on those prizes or on the person of Paul Jones." The breach between both countries grew wider and wider every day. About three months after the former event, commodore Fielding fell in with a fleet of Dutch mer-

* Paul Jones was a native of Galloway in Scotland, and had, by his crimes, forfeited his life to the laws of his country, before he entered into the service of congress.

chant

chant ships, convoyed by a small squadron of men of war under count Byland; and desiring permission to visit the merchant ships, in order to ascertain whether they contained any contraband goods, was peremptorily refused by the Dutch admiral. On this, he fired a shot a-head of the count, who returned a broadside: commodore Fielding did the same; and then the Dutch immediately struck their colours. In the mean time the greatest part of the convoy bore away to the coast of France; but such of them as remained, and had naval stores on board, were stopped, and the Dutch admiral was informed that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. But he refused to quit his convoy, and accompanied the commodore to Portsmouth. It is no wonder, that the insolent demand of redress made by the states, after so flagrant a breach of the law of nations on their part, should be treated with just contempt by the British court. But, on the seventeenth of April following, his majesty published a declaration, stating "that repeated memorials having been presented by his ambassador to the States General, demanding the succours stipulated by treaty, to which requisition they had given no answer, nor signified any intention of compliance, his majesty considered their High Mightinesses as having deserted the alliance that had so long subsisted between Great Britain and the Republic; and his majesty from that time suspended, provisionally, all the stipulations of the several existing treaties, particularly of the marine treaty of 1674." The immediate design of such explicit language was to convince the states of the determined spirit of the British cabinet, and to prevent them, if possible, from acceding to the late confederacy of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, the real object of which, under the shew of protecting the freedom of commerce, was to render legitimate the most fraudulent intercourse between neutral powers and those at war *: But the Dutch,

* The grand principle of this scheme was, that a free ship should make free goods, or, in other words, that

Dutch, equally unprepared for hoſtilities on the one hand, and unwilling on the other to forego the advantages of a gainful, though perfidious and illicit trade, had recourſe, as uſual, to procraſtination and delay, till matters were brought to an iſſue by the following incident. On the third of September, the Mercury, a congreſs packet, was taken by the Veſtal frigate off the banks of Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the congreſs, charged with a commiſſion to Holland. On being brought to England, he was examined by the privy council, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treaſon. His papers, which had been thrown overboard, and ſaved from ſinking, by the alertneſs of a Britiſh ſeaman, were found to contain the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the ſtates of America, ſome articles of which had been proviſionally agreed to and ſigned two years before at Aix-la-Chapelle by William Lee, formerly an alderman of London, but then an agent for congreſs, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amſterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by the grand penſionary of that city. Theſe papers were immediately tranſmitted to the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, who was inſtructed to preſent a memorial to the States General, requiring them to diſavow the proceedings of the grand penſionary and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a puniſhment ſuitable to the magnitude of their offences: he was farther enjoined to declare, that, if ſatisfaction in theſe reſpects ſhould be either refuſed or delayed, the States General would be conſidered as making themſelves parties to the injury, and ſuch meaſures be purſued as the law of nations authoriſed for compelling a reparation of the wrong. The memorial was accordingly preſented; and no ſatisfactory anſwer being returned by the States General within the time expected, ſir Joſeph Yorke was recalled, and on the twentieth of De-

that a neutral ſhip, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war; ſhould paſs as free and unmoleſted as in time of peace.

cember

cember, letters of reprisal were ordered to be issued against the Dutch. The manifesto published on this occasion was generally admitted as a master piece of political writing. The merit of the composition has been ascribed to Mr. Gibbon, the celebrated historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, and, at that time, one of the commissioners of trade.

CHAP. V.

I. New Parliament convened,—Mr. Cornwall chosen Speaker;—and the War with the Dutch justified. II. Warm Debates on the Loan Bill. III. Summary of the other Proceedings of the Session. IV. Second abortive Attempt of the French on the Island of Jersey. V. Conquest of the Island of St. Eustatia, and some other Dutch Settlements in the West Indies. VI. Loss of Tobago. VII. Rich Convoy from St. Eustatia intercepted on its Way to England; and that Island with its Dependencies reconquered by the Marquis de Bouillé. VIII. Colonel Tarleton's fatal Defeat at the Cowpens. IX. Action near Guildford between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene. X. Step which hastened the sad Catastrophe at York town. XI. Sir Henry Clinton's Apprehensions of an Attack upon New York. XII. Partial Engagement between the Count de Grasse and Admiral Graves, soon followed by the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis's Army. XIII Reduction of Pensacola by Don Galvez. XIV. Successful Sally of the Garrison of Gibraltar. XV. Commodore Johnstone's Expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. XVI. Success of the British Arms in the East Indies. XVII. Desperate Engagement on the Dogger Bank. XVIII. Part of a French Convoy intercepted by Admiral Kempenfelt. XIX. New Cabinet formed under the Auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham. XX. Liberal Concessions made to the Irish. XXI. Other Popular Measures of the new Ministry.—XXII. Changes occasioned by the Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. XXIII. Minorca taken by the Duke de Crillon, and several Islands in the West Indies conquered by the Marquis de Bouillé. XXIV. Rodney's glorious and critically important Victory on the twelfth of April. XXV. The

The Spanish floating Batteries destroyed at Gibraltar, and the Garrison relieved by Lord Howe. XXVI. *Provisional Articles of Peace between Great Britain and America.*— XXVII. *Debate on the preliminary Articles—Effects of the Coalition.*

1781. I. AS the commencement of hostilities against the Dutch had taken place during the Christmas recess, it did not become a subject of debate in the great council of the nation till the twenty fifth of January. Parliament had been dissolved on the first of September, and a new one convened the thirty first of October; but nothing worthy of specific notice had passed in either house before the holidays, except the election of a speaker of the commons, in which the strength of the opposition was vainly exerted for the re-appointment of sir Fletcher Norton, there being only 134 voices in his favor, against 203 who voted for Mr. Cornwall. The royal message on the indispensible necessity of the war with the Dutch gave rise to long and angry, but uninteresting discussions. In spite of all the efforts of the minority to expose, as they asserted, the arrogance, the rashness, the frenzy of administration, in provoking an old ally to join the confederacy of Great Britain's enemies, it was clearly shewn, that the flagrant baseness of the Dutch could be no longer connived at, and that indecision in such a case would have been no less ruinous than shameful. Addresses highly approving the steps taken by his majesty, with full assurances of the most determined support, were carried by considerable majorities in both houses.

II. But the minister had soon another contest to sustain, in which the divisions ran much closer, and seemed to indicate some decline of his credit with the public, as well as of his influence in parliament. On the seventh of March, he brought forward his annual statement of the supplies and resources for the current service. The entire expenditure he calculated at twenty one millions, twelve of which it would be necessary to raise by a loan. The terms were unusually high: a contract had been entered into with the subscribers to grant one hundred and fifty

pounds

pounds capital ſtock at three per cent. and twenty five pounds capital ſtock at four per cent. for every £. 100 in money, being nine millions more than the ſum actually paid into the exchequer. To defray the intereſt of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds annually, that is ſix thouſand more than the legal eſtabliſhed intereſt of five per cent. excluſive of which, as the ſubſcription to the loan bore a premium of ten per cent. the farther ſum of one million, two hundred thouſand pounds appeared to be loſt to the nation by this improvident bargain. Mr. Fox reprobated every part of it as the moſt corrupt in its origin, the moſt ſhameful in its progreſs, and the moſt injurious in its conſequences, that ever came under the contemplation of the houſe.—An amendment, which he propoſed in the committee of ſupply, was ſupported by 111 voices againſt 169. But the buſineſs did not end here:—the oppoſition to the loan bill was renewed under a variety of forms, during its paſſage through the commons; and when carried to the lords, the marquis of Rockingham and ſome of his friends did not fall ſhort of Mr. Fox in the aſperity of cenſure and execration. The only apology made for ſuch a contract having been the low ſtate of the funds and the imperious neceſſity of the times, the marquis ſaid, "he did not doubt but the matter originated in *neceſſity*; for ſuch was the critical ſituation of the miniſter, that he found himſelf compelled to reſort to this ſhameful waſte of the public money, in order to fix and attach the wavering and heſitating minds of his abettors." Eight of the peers entered a proteſt againſt the bill on the journals.—Some weeks afterwards the ſubject was revived in the lower houſe by a motion of ſir George Saville for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the circumſtances of the laſt loan; "for though the bargain," he ſaid, "had been irrevocably ratified, it was not yet too late, on diſcovering the ſhameleſs prodigality of the terms on which it was concluded, to paſs a vote of cenſure, or even of impeachment, on the man who had ſacrificed the public in ſo groſs and daring a manner." This gave riſe to

a vehement

a vehement debate, at the conclusion of which the motion was rejected by a majority of 46 only, in a house consisting of near 400 members; so that, on the part of the minister, it might be considered as an escape, rather than a victory.

III. The other proceedings of this session, which was protracted to the eighteenth of July, are more distinguished for the violence and acrimony of debate, than for their final efficacy or importance. Mr. Burke's famous reform bill was again brought forward, but was rejected, on the motion for the second reading, by a majority of 233 to 190. The appointment of delegates by several of the associated counties, to meet in London for the purpose of promoting the objects of their former petitions, had also proved a copious source of parliamentary contention; and when the subject of old grievances was exhausted, the events of the war, the sphere of which was now considerably enlarged, afforded every day some fresh occasion of clamor and dispute. The accounts from the East Indies in particular were very perplexing. A spirit of intrigue and conquest, of rapacity and ambition, seemed to have pervaded the whole system of British government in that part of the world, and to have at length provoked a most formidable confederacy of the native powers. While a part of the company's forces were engaged on one side in hostilities with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, on the other, broke into the Carnatic with a vast army in the month of July 1780, and committed the most dreadful ravages. On the tenth of September, he surrounded a large body of troops under colonel Baillie, who were entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. He then attacked and made himself master of Arcot; and scarcely did the government of Madrass believe itself to be in safety, when sir Eyre Coote arrived to take the command of the forces on the coast of Coromandel, and by the most extraordinary efforts stopped Hyder's career, and defeated him in several engagements, in which, to use the gallant veteran's own words, "every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility." The first intelligence

telligence of those unexpected convulsions in the East occasioned the appointment of a secret committee of the house of commons to inquire into the causes of the Mahratta war, and that in the Carnatic. Their reports on the subject afterwards engaged no small share of public notice, but did not produce any effectual correction of the evil. A bill had likewise been brought in, and was passed at the close of the session, for restraining the arbitrary encroachments of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal; and another, by which the company were, for a limited term, continued in the enjoyment of their present privileges, with a clause compelling them to pay about four hundred thousand pounds to the public, in aid of supply, and as a just participation in their revenues and profits.

IV. The military history of the present year was marked in its commencement by a second attempt of the French upon the island of Jersey. The baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to count Nassau in the former attack, landed with about eight hundred men at a place called the Violet Bank in the night of the fifteenth of January, and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The house of major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, being entirely surrounded, he was so far intimidated as to sign articles of capitulation. But when Elizabeth Castle was summoned, captain Aylward, the commander, far from paying the least regard to the acts of the governor in his present state of durance, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and major Pierson, a young and gallant officer, second in command, having assembled the regular troops and militia of the island on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greatest resolution. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French troops in less than half an hour laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Unfortunately almost the last shot fired previous to the surrender proved fatal to major

Pierson,

Pierson, in whose conduct, during the whole of this transaction, discretion and valor had been equally conspicuous.

V. Early information of the rupture with Holland having been transmitted to the West Indies, admiral Rodney, who had returned to that station from New York, and general Vaughan appeared with a considerable force, in the beginning of February, before the island of St. Eustatia, that famous deposit of wealth and mart of traffic. De Graaff, the governor, being utterly incapable of making any defence, was compelled to surrender at discretion; and the immense property of the island was declared to be confiscated, with a degree of indiscriminate rigour, which the past treachery of the Dutch could hardly justify. The value of the commodities thus seized was estimated at four millions sterling. A Dutch frigate of thirty six guns, five others of inferior force, and more than one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen were taken in the bay; and a fleet of thirty ships richly laden, which had sailed for Holland two days before, were pursued and brought back, with a man of war that convoyed them, under the command of admiral Byland, who lost his life in a vain effort of resistance.—The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in a similar manner; and, nearly about the same time, the Dutch settlements of Demerary, Issequibo, and Berbicia, on the southern main, made a tender of submission to the governor of Barbadoes, the rivers leading to the two former having been boldly entered, and all the vessels seized, by a squadron of privateers from Bristol. The deputies from those settlements were referred to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, who thought them deserving of more lenity than the people of St. Eustatia, and secured to them the full possession of their civil government, and private property.

VI. While the British commanders were detained in adjusting the concerns of their new acquisition, a French fleet under the count de Grasse, after a partial engagement with admiral Hood, whom Rodney had detached

to intercept it, steered its course to the island of Tobago, on which the marquis de Bouillé made an immediate descent. Admiral Rodney, on receiving intelligence of this attack, sent off a squadron of six ships of the line, with some frigates and troops, for its relief; but these finding the French in great force were obliged to return; and Rodney, accompanied by Vaughan, now sailed in person with the whole fleet for Tobago. He arrived off the coast on the fourth of June, but had the mortification to learn that the island had surrendered two days before; and was baffled in all his attempts, during the remainder of the summer, to bring the enemy to a general engagement.

VII. Other mortifying circumstances soon concurred to render the conquest of St. Eustatia an object rather of vexation than of triumph. It seemed as if the spoil of that island had been subject to some fatality, which was to deprive the nation, as well as the captors, of its benefit. A rich convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken there, was intercepted on its way to England by a French squadron; and the island itself, with its little dependencies, St. Martin's and Saba, were re-conquered in November by a small force under the marquis dé Boullié, who behaved with the most politic liberality to the inhabitants, and immediately published a declaration, that the forces of his most Christian majesty defended the island only till relieved by the troops of their High Mightinesses.

VIII. The issue of the campaign in America was still more unfavorable to the British arms. A few gleams of success in the course of the year served only to increase the dismal effect of multiplied disasters. After the victory at Camden, the excessive heats and great unhealthiness of the season had laid an insuperable restraint for some time on lord Cornwallis's march into North Carolina; and the total destruction of a corps of royalists under major Ferguson, who had been sent towards the frontiers, obliged his lordship to suspend any farther attempts till the opening of the new year. He began

his

his march early in January; but finding that general Greene, by whom Gates had been lately superseded in the command of the southern army, had detached colonel Morgan at the head of a body of light troops to penetrate into South Carolina, and not chusing to leave so considerable a corps in his rear, he ordered colonel Tarleton with a superior force to drive Morgan out of the country. This attempt ended in the total defeat of the British detachment. The cannon, colours, and baggage waggons, with about four hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors; and this unfortunate blow may be considered as a principal link in the chain of events that led to the independence of America.

IX. In vain did lord Cornwallis endeavour by rapid movements to come up with Morgan, who soon re-joined the main army under Greene. But the late disgrace at Cowpens was completely wiped off in a pitched battle between both armies at Guildford on the fifteenth of March. Here the British troops attacked and defeated an army of more than three times their own number, not taken by surprise, but prepared for action, and judiciously posted. The glory of having become masters of the field, and of the artillery of the enemy, was, however, dearly purchased by the loss of near one hundred killed, and above four hundred wounded, amounting to more than one third of all the British troops engaged.

X. To enter into a detail of the alternate successes and misfortunes that terminated in the surrender of this gallant army at York-town can answer no valuable purpose. It would be only exhibiting a melancholy picture of skill and courage exerted in vain. The step which hastened the sad catastrophe was sir Henry Clinton's recalling a large body of troops under general Arnold then with lord Cornwallis at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, of which he had taken possession the twenty sixth of June. The commander in chief conceived at that time New York to be in danger from the united forces of the French and Americans. After this diminution of his strength, lord Cornwallis immediately quitted his insecure post at

Williamsburg,

Williamsburg, and passed over James River, with a view of fixing his head quarters at Portsmouth; but, on farther thought, he removed to York-town, as the more eligible situation.

XI. Hitherto the plan of the campaign on the part of general Washington had wavered in uncertainty. He had long and seriously meditated an attack upon New York, and general Clinton had good reason to believe that this was finally determined upon at an interview between the American general and count Rochambeau, which took place in May; and in consequence of this project, great preparations were made in the vicinity of New York, all announcing an approaching siege. But the arrival of considerable reinforcements from England, and the recal of so large a body of troops from Virginia, operated as strong checks on any such attempt; and a letter from count de Grasse, stating that his destination was unalterably fixed to the Chesapeak, left the American and French commanders no alternative. A joint answer was immediately sent, that they would lose no time in removing the army to the south of the Delaware, there to meet the admiral. All the appearances of an attack upon New York were, however, still carefully kept up, till at length, on the twenty fourth of August the allied army suddenly decamped, passed the North River, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the thirtieth. The fleet of the count de Grasse, consisting of twenty four ships of the line, entered nearly at the same time the bay of Chesapeak. Sir Henry Clinton, being now undeceived, sent to assure lord Cornwallis, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means in his power, or make the best diversion he could in his favour. Accordingly, the English fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, under admiral Graves, appeared off the capes of Virginia, on the fifth of September; and count de Grasse, expecting a reinforcement from Rhode-island, stood out to sea for their protection. A warm action ensued, but without any material advantage on the side of the English; and the count de Grasse, being joined by

by the squadron he expected, was left undisputed master of the Chesapeak. Relief was from this time wholly impracticable; and lord Cornwallis withdrew within his works, making every preparation for a vigorous defence.

XII. York-town being situated nearly at the extremity of a narrow peninsula, inclosed between York River to the north and James River to the south, it was invested with singular facility by an enemy who commanded the navigation of the two rivers. On the fourteenth of October, the besiegers, notwithstanding the well-directed and incessant fire of their gallant enemy, had advanced far in their second parallel. Being greatly incommoded in their approaches by two redoubts at the distance of two hundred yards from the British lines, it was determined to attack them at the same time by different detachments of French and Americans. The defence was spirited, but ineffectual. By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and the British works, enfiladed in almost every part, and nearly demolished, could scarcely mount a single gun. In this extremity no other resource remained than to endeavour to transport the garrison across York River to Gloucester Point, opposite to York Town, where works had been also erected, and were still occupied by part of the British army. But this intention being totally frustrated by a violent storm after the embarkation had actually commenced, lord Cornwallis was reduced to the hard necessity of proposing terms of capitulation, which were granted only on condition of his lordship's surrendering himself, and the forces under his command, to the amount of about seven thousand men, prisoners of war. The honor of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to lord Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the army of York-town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted eighteen months before.

XIII. To this terrible overthrow, which extinguish-

ed

ed all hope of ever recovering any of the rebel provinces, must be added another loss on the same continent in the early part of the campaign. Don Galvez, of whose successful expedition, in the year 1779, against the British settlements on the Mississippi, some notice has been already taken, made farther advances into West Florida the following year, and being at length reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from the Havannah, completed the conquest of the whole province by the reduction of Pensacola on the eighth of May. General Campbell, the governor, acquired no small reputation, even in misfortune, by his judicious and spirited defence of the place for two months, with a motley assemblage of British soldiers, loyalists, Germans, sailors, and negroes, making in all nine hundred and fifty men, against a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and a land force almost ten times the number of the garrison.

XIV. But the recovery even of a whole province could not console Spain for the disappointment she still felt in the siege of Gibraltar. She had set her heart so entirely on the reduction of that fortress, that she scarcely seemed to have another object in the war. The labour of the nation was exhausted in the stupendous works which she raised before the place, and they were covered with the most formidable artillery that had ever, perhaps, been known in any siege. Yet all her efforts could not prevent timely relief from being conveyed to the garrison, first, by sir George Rodney, and now again by admiral Darby, who had succeeded Geary in the command of the channel fleet. The Spaniards endeavoured to revenge the failure of their gun-boats in an atttempt to burn the convoy of victuallers in the bay, by keeping up against the fortress an unremitted fire day and night for three weeks, from one hundred and seventy pieces of heavy cannon and fourscore mortars. The town and its inhabitants were the sacrifice; but the loss, on the side of the garrison, was inconsiderable, and the damage done to the works was too trifling to give any concern to the defenders. During a long calm which succeeded the

 gradual

gradual abatement of this tremendous cannonade and bombardment, the brave Elliot formed a scheme not of noisy, but effectual retaliation. At three o'clock in the morning of the twenty seventh of November, a strong detachment, commanded by brigadier general Ross, sallied out of the garrison, and attacked the enemy's works with such a combination of skill and impetuosity, that the Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned those mighty bulwarks, erected with such unparalleled expence and labour, and in the expected effects of which all the hopes of their country were centered. In less than half an hour five batteries, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames;—the magazines blowing up one after another as the conflagration reached them;—the confounded and dismayed Spaniards offering no other resistance than a distant and ill-directed fire from the forts of St. Phillip and St. Barbara.

XV. The grand fleet, on its departure from England for the relief of Gibraltar, was accompanied by a small squadron under the command of commodore Johnstone, late one of the commissioners to America, but now appointed to conduct an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The court of Versailles, knowing the present inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, sent a superior squadron under M. Suffrein to counteract the designs of the English; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, the French admiral made no scruple to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese flag, by attacking the squadron of commodore Johnstone, while it lay in the harbour, dispersed and unsuspicious of danger. British valour was eminently displayed in repelling the attack, under every disadvantage of number, situation, and surprise; and the French were beaten off, after suffering severely in the conflict, but immediately proceeding to the Cape, they secured that settlement from any hostile attempt. Though the main object of commodore Johnstone's expedition was thus defeated, he succeeded in the capture of five very

valuable

valuable Dutch East Indiamen, with which he returned to Europe, a part of his squadron and a convoy of transports and merchant ships, which were destined for the East Indies, having prosecuted their voyage thither.

XVI. Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape was certain the means of preserving that place, in itself incapable of any vigorous resistance; but the French admiral did not reach the East Indies soon enough to afford the like protection to the Dutch settlements there, or to save Hyder Ally's marine from destruction. While sir Eyre Coote was attacking Hyder with equal vigor and success by land, sir Edward Hughes not only blocked up his ports on the Malabar coast, but destroyed his shipping at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arsenals, on which all his hopes of becoming a maritime power were founded. Before the close of the year, the Dutch fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, the garrison of which had been reinforced by two thousand three hundred of Hyder's troops, was taken by a joint operation of the British naval and military forces; and, early in January 1782, they became masters, with still greater ease, of the valuable settlement of Trinquemale in the island of Ceylon. The many subsequent encounters between sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein were so nicely balanced in point of strength, skill, emulation, perseverance, heroism, as left no room for the boast of superiority on either side.

XVII. If the Dutch were mortified by the severity of their losses in both the Indies, they had almost as little cause to rejoice at the fruits of their treachery and ingratitude near home. Several of their merchantmen and single ships were taken at the beginning of the rupture; but no engagement happened between the fleets of the two nations till the fifth of August. Early in the morning of that day, an English squadron commanded by admiral Hyde Parker met upon the Dogger-Bank a Dutch squadron somewhat superior in force commanded by admiral Zouttman, having under his convoy a fleet bound to the Baltic. On perceiving the English squadron bear-

ing down, the Dutch admiral, who was to leeward, practiſed no manœuvres to avoid the conteſt. No gun was fired on either ſide, until the two ſquadrons came ſo near as to be within half muſket-ſhot, when a dreadful cannonade commenced, which was kept up without interruption for three hours and forty minutes; and the action then ceaſed only becauſe the ſhips on both ſides, from the damages they had reſpectively ſuſtained, were no longer found manageable. The Dutch, after ſome time, bore away with their convoy for the Texel, which they reached with great difficulty, one of their largeſt ſhips ſinking before they could make the harbour. Beſides the injury thus done to their navy, one of the moſt beneficial branches of their commerce was interrupted for this year at leaſt, by the return of their Baltic convoy.

XVIII. An attempt made by admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen ſail of the line and four frigates, to intercept a French ſquadron and convoy carrying reinforcements to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, concluded the naval enterpriſes of this year. The Engliſh admiral fell in with the enemy on the twelfth of December in a hard gale of wind, and ſucceeded in cutting off a part of the convoy; but was obliged to relinquiſh any farther deſign, on perceiving the enemy's force to conſiſt of nineteen ſail of heavy line of battle ſhips, beſides two more armed *en flute*. About twenty of the prizes arrived ſafe in England; and their importance, being all crouded with troops, or heavy laden with ſtores and proviſions, ſerved to excite the diſſatisfaction of the public at the negligence of thoſe who had not ſupplied Kempenfelt with ſuch a force, as would have enabled him to take or deſtroy the whole French fleet and convoy.

1782. XIX. Though lord North and his colleagues ſtill preſerved a tone of firmneſs, and carried ſeveral queſtions of ſome moment relating to the eſtimates, the ſupplies, and the neceſſity of a new loan of thirteen millions and a half, with large majorities in the houſe of commons, yet it was eaſy to ſee that his power was tottering, and could not be of long continuance. In every

debate

debate introduced by the oppoſition for the avowed purpoſe of condemning the conduct of the war, the number of thoſe who voted for the exculpation of the miniſtry, decreaſed every day. A motion of cenſure on the firſt lord of the admiralty, brought forward by Mr. Fox ſoon after the Chriſtmas receſs, was rejected by a majority of only [illegible]; and even that majority did not continue, but was reduced to 19 on the renewal of the ſame motion in ſubſtance, though a little varied in form, on the twentieth of February. Lord George Germaine ſeemed to ſhrink from ſimilar attacks on himſelf by reſigning the ſeals of his office to Mr. Welbore Ellis, and ſeeking a retreat in the houſe of lords. On the twenty-ſecond of February, general Conway moved for "an addreſs to the king, earneſtly imploring his majeſty to liſten to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful commons, that the war on the continent of America might no longer be purſued, for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the new ſecretary for the American department; and when the houſe divided after a long debate, the miniſtry had ſtill a majority,—but a majority of one only, the numbers being 192 for, and 193 againſt the motion; ſo that the pyramidal edifice of miniſterial power was now ſaid, by a marvellous and magical inverſion, to reſt upon its apex. Five days after, the queſtion was revived in a new form, declaring it to be "the opinion of the houſe, that a farther proſecution of offenſive war againſt America would, under preſent circumſtances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, and tend to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America." This was carried without a diviſion. After a variety of other very pointed attacks, the laſt blow was intended to be ſtruck on the nineteenth of March, according to previous notice given by the earl of Surry; but when his lordſhip was about to riſe, lord North addreſſed himſelf to the ſpeaker, and ſaid, "that as he underſtood the object of the noble lord's mo-

tion

tion to be the removal of ministers, he wished to prevent the necessity of giving the house farther trouble by an explicit declaration, that his majesty had come to a determination to make an entire change of administration; and he and his colleagues only retained their official situation till other ministers were appointed to occupy their places." Upon this lord Surry consented to waive his motion; and in nine days after, the new arrangement was announced to the house, and to the public at large. The cabinet, formed under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, and including himself as first commissioner of the treasury, was composed of the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed secretaries of state; lord Camden, president of the council; duke of Grafton, privy seal; lord John Cavendish, chancello of the exchequer; admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first commissioner of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief of the forces; duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance; lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of lord high chancellor; and Mr. Dunning, created baron Ashburton, and made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster. The duke of Portland succeeded lord Carlisle as lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was constituted paymaster of the forces; and colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy.

XX. The first business of national importance, brought forward by the new ministry, was the repeal of an act passed in the reign of George I. for securing the dependency of Ireland, against which the loudest and justest clamours had been raised in that country. This repeal, which passed both houses without opposition, was properly understood as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legislating for Ireland. The power of suppressing or altering bills in the privy council, and the perpetual mutiny bill were the other grievances, of which the Irish had made some very urgent complaints. As these points lay between the parliament of Ireland and the king, they were assured, by the lord lieutenant, of his majesty's gracious intentions to give his assent to acts for abolishing the obnoxious

noxious power abovementioned, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. The Irish parliament and the whole nation were so highly gratified with the liberality of these concessions, that a vote of the house of commons in that kingdom passed unanimously for raising twenty thousand seamen for the service of the British navy.

XXI. While these steps were judiciously taken to soothe the discontents and remove the jealousies of the people of Ireland, the new administration were not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity at home. Bills for disabling revenue-officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the house of commons, which had been repeatedly negatived in the course of a few years, were now revived and passed with approbation and applause. Mr. Burke's reform bill was also brought forward a third time, in consequence of a message from the king, recommending the consideration of an effectual plan of œconomy throughout all the branches of the public expenditure. By this bill, which now passed, though not without some warm opposition in the house of lords, the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe were abolished, together with the office of American secretary of state, and many sinecure appointments.

XXII. So far the new ministry, though composed of some dissonant and jarring principles, had conducted public affairs with the appearance of perfect harmony; but the death of the marquis of Rockingham on the first of July threw their whole system into the utmost disorder. On the day succeeding his decease, the earl of Shelburne was declared first lord of the treasury. The acceptance of this high and pre-eminent office, without any previous communication with his colleagues, was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hostility on the part of lord Shelburne. Mr. Fox immediately resigned the seals as secretary of the northern department; lord John Cavindish his office as chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Portland his

government

government of Ireland; a few others their seats at the boards of treasury and admiralty; and Mr. Burke his post of paymaster of the army. In consequence of their resignations, the seals of the southern department were given to the earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townshend, late secretary at war: sir George Yonge succeeded Mr. Townshend: colonel Barré was made paymaster of the forces; and Mr. Dundas was appointed in his room treasurer of the navy: lord Temple succeeded the duke of Portland in the lord lieutenancy of Ireland; and Mr. William Pitt, second son of the late earl of Chatham, was constituted chancellor of the exchequer. The conduct of Mr. Fox and his followers at that time, in spite of their ingenious efforts in parliament to give it a popular complexion, appeared to be rather the result of irritated pride than of genuine patriotism. The bickerings of party, however, were suspended in both houses by the close of the session on the eleventh of July, when the speech from the throne, in addition to the usual topics, contained the welcome declaration, "that nothing could be more repugnant to his majesty's feelings, than the long continuance of so complicated a war; and that his ardent desire of peace had induced him to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of his wishes." The success of those measures will be described after a short sketch of the naval and military events of the year.

XXIII. Intelligence arrived early in the spring, that general Murray, governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a siege of one hundred and seventy one days, to surrender that island to the arms of his Catholic majesty, on the eighth of February. The news from the West Indies were still more pregnant with disasters. The superiority of the French in that quarter enabled them to attempt, and to execute almost whatever they liked.—They recovered the Dutch settlements of Demerary and Essequibo in the first month of the year. The old and valuable island of St. Christopher was doomed to be the next victim to the calamity of the times. A gallant attempt

tempt made by admiral Hood for its relief, and the admirable bravery of the governor and garrison proved ineffectual. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's; so that of all the former possessions of Great Britain in the West Indies none remained but Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua. The design against Jamaica, which had been often adopted, and as often laid aside or deferred, was now revived with more vigour and greater confidence of success than ever. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet and a great body of land forces at Hispaniola and Cuba, who were furnished with abundant provision for war, and in readiness to join the count de Grasse in the attack upon that island. The junction of the two fleets would have amounted to sixty ships of the line, and their military force was no less formidable.

XXIV. Sir George Rodney's arrival at Barbadoes with twelve sail of the line on the nineteenth of February and his subsequent junction with sir Samuel Hood's squadron, were fortunately decreed to break in upon the thread of this design against Jamaica. It was now the count de Grasse's intention to avoid fighting, by all possible means, until he could join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. With this view, the French left the harbour of Fort Royal at day-break on the eighth of April; and Rodney, who had the earliest intelligence of their movements, made the signal for a general chase. Early the next morning he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the English engaged the rear of the French; but the continued calms prevented a general or close action. In the morning of the eleventh a fresh gale sprung up, and the chase was renewed; and towards evening the headmost ships of the van gained so much on one or two of the enemy's ships, damaged in the late action, that the count de Grasse thought it necessary to bear down for the purpose of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manoeuvred the fleet with such skill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and

entirely

entirely to preclude their retreat. At ſeven in the morning of the twelfth, the two fleets, being ranged in lines directly oppoſite, engaged with the greateſt fury. Rodney's fleet amounted to thirty ſix ſail of the line; that of de Graſſe only to thirty four, but higher rates, with ſuperior weight of metal. The French ſhips being crowded with men, the carnage was prodigious; but no viſible impreſſion was made, or material advantage gained till about noon, when Rodney in the Formidable, followed by his ſeconds the Namur and the Duke, perceiving an accidental interval which invited the attempt, bore directly with full ſail athwart the enemy's line, and ſucceſsfully broke through, about three ſhips ſhort of the center, where de Graſſe commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being quickly ſupported by the remainder of his diviſion, the Engliſh commander wore round cloſe upon the enemy, and actually ſeparated their line, placing the central ſhips of the French between two fires. This bold and maſterly manœuvre proved deciſive. The French however continued to fight with the utmoſt bravery, and the battle laſted till ſun-ſet. The Cæſar was the firſt ſhip that ſtruck her colours, having loſt her captain, and being almoſt torn to pieces by her adverſary's fire. Soon afterwards, by ſome unfortunate accident, ſhe blew up, and every ſoul on board periſhed. The Glorieux, the Hector, the Ardent, now followed the example of the Cæſar; and the Diadem went down by a ſingle broadſide. De Graſſe, beſet on all ſides, held out with heroic bravery, till having three men only left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, he ſtruck to admiral Hood juſt at ſun-ſet. Night cloſed the dreadful ſcene. The ſhattered remains of the French fleet crowded all the ſail they could make for Cape François; and in the morning they were out of ſight. Sir Samuel Hood being detached to purſue the flying enemy, came up with five ſail off Porto Rico, and captured the Jaſon and Caton ſhips of the lines, and two frigates, the third with difficulty clearing the Mona paſſage. In whatever point of view this action is conſidered, either with regard to its immediate advantages

or



Engrav'd by W. Ridley, from a Drawing by W. H. Brown — To face Cormack Vol. III. p. 392

SAMUEL VISCOUNT HOOD.

or its remote effects, it must be deemed one of the most critically important, as well as most glorious naval victories ever obtained by the arms of Britain. For such eminent services admiral Rodney very deservedly obtained the honors of a peerage, with a perpetual annuity of two thousand pounds annext to the title, and the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament.

XXV. North America afforded no military transaction of any consequence during this period*. But the campaign in Europe was rendered memorable by an event which reflected no less honor on the British arms than Rodney's exploit in the West Indies. This was general Elliot's defence of Gibraltar against the last desperate and unparalleled efforts of the Spanish monarchy. The duke de Crillon, conqueror of Minorca, was now appointed to conduct the siege. A number of floating batteries were constructed upon a model, which, it was imagined, would secure them from being either sunk or fired. The preparations were enormous in other respects. The artillery of the whole kingdom seemed to be collected for this single purpose. Above eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches were to second the operations of the floating batteries, with a multitude of frigates and smaller vessels, while the combined fleets, amounting to fifty sail of the line, were to cover and support the attack. Some princes of the blood and many of the French nobility had repaired to the Spanish camp, in order to witness the inevitable fall of the fortress; and, on the thirteenth of September, when the rock was to be crumbled into dust, the surrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain were assembled to behold the spectacle. The day closed in a manner widely different from their expectations: the floating batteries were all consumed by the prodigious and unintermitted showers of red-hot balls that issued from the garrison; and above fifteen hundred of the Spaniards were supposed to have perished in the

* Previous to the change of administration, sir Henry Clinton had resigned to sir Guy Carleton his command in America.

this

this fiery conflict. To complete the triumph of the English, lord Howe soon after performed the signal and perilous service of relieving Gibraltar, in the very face of the enemy, and under such circumstances of inferiority in force, as not only fully to support, but highly to exalt the naval renown of his country.

XXVI. This was the last affair of any importance during the continuance of the war in Europe; and thus, the military career of Britain, after her repeated misfortunes, terminated with great splendor. All the belligerent powers were now inclined to listen to overtures of pacification. The independence of America being virtually recognized by England, and a resolution against offensive operations having passed the house of commons, the war with the colonies was in fact at an end. The original, though frantic purpose of France being accomplished, according to the contracted views of her rulers, she had no farther motive to persevere in a contest, the expence and danger of which began now to rush upon her with accumulating force. Spain, after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar and the conquest of Jamaica, had little reason to flatter herself, that her future efforts would be more effectual than the past: and Holland would neither have the inclination nor the ability to continue the war alone. During the negociation with France and Spain, protracted chiefly in consequence of the demand in which Spain for some time persisted of the cession of Gibraltar, provisional articles between Great Britain and America were signed on the thirtieth of November, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent states; and, by a boundary line drawn much in their favor, the country southward of the lakes on both sides of the Ohio, and eastward of the Mississippi was ceded to them, with a full participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the gulf of St. Lawrence. These first advances towards a general peace were mentioned in the speech from the throne at the meeting of both houses on the fifth of December; but the suspen-

five

tive ftate of the treaties with other powers rendered any farther difcuffion of the fubject, or communication of papers at that time inexpedient and improper.

1783. XXVII. Parliament, after a few days attendance, adjourned to the twenty-firft of January, the day preceding which preliminary articles were figned between Great Britain, France, and Spain, and were laid before the two houfes on the feventeenth of February. By this treaty, Great Britain guaranteed to France the ifland of Tobago and reftored that of St. Lucia; alfo the fettlements of Goree and Senegal in Africa; and Pondicherry with other conquefts in the eaft. France, on her part agreed to reftore all her conquefts in the Weft Indies, except Tobago. His Catholic majefty was allowed to retain Minorca and Weft Florida, Eaft Florida being alfo ceded in exchange for the Bahamas, which the governor of the Havannah had taken in the beginning of the laft year. The demands of the Dutch not only to have their fettlements reftored without giving any thing in return, but to be indemnified for the loffes and expences of the war, impeded for the prefent the conclufion of the treaty with thofe ftates. An addrefs of thanks and approbation was carried in the lords by a majority of 72 to 59; but, in the lower houfe, an amendment, withholding fuch approbation, yet affuring his majefty of their firm determination to adhere to the feveral articles, for which the public faith had been pledged, was fupported by the combined adherents of lord North and Mr. Fox, who feemed to forget all paft animofities in a fudden league of intereft and policy. The avowal of fuch an union was indignantly received by a very refpectable part of the houfe. Mr. Powis faid, "This was the age of ftrange confederacies. The world had feen great and arbitrary defpots ftand forth the protectors of an infant republic—France and Spain had combined to eftablifh the rifing liberties of America. The houfe now furveyed the counter part of this picture—A MONSTROUS COALITION had taken place between a noble lord and an illuftrious commoner—The lofty affertor of

the prerogative had joined with the worshippers of the majesty of the people." On the division the effect of "this monstrous coalition" was immediately visible, there appearing for the ammendment 225 against 208 voices.

FINIS.

